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ARCHAEOLOGIA :
OR
MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS
RELATING TO
ANTIQUITY.

ARCHAEOLOGIA:
OR
MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS
RELATING TO
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ARCHAEOLOGY

IN THE

WEST INDIES

AND IN THE

ADJACENT ISLANDS



EDITED BY
J. H. COLEMAN, Esq.
OF THE
BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON.
AND
J. H. COLEMAN, Esq.
OF THE
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At a Council of the Society of Antiquaries, May 31, 1782.

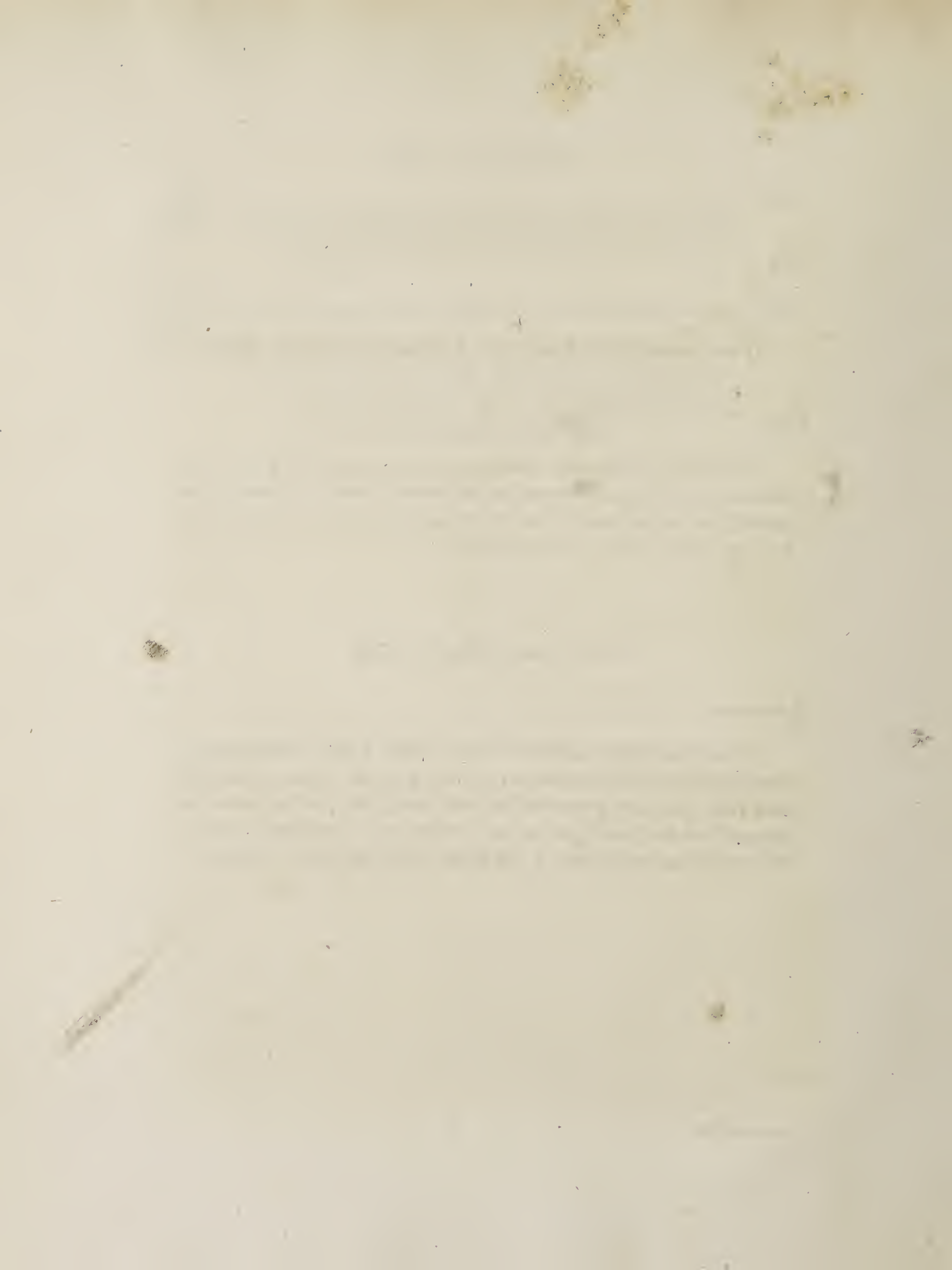
RESOLVED,

THAT any Gentleman, desirous to have separate Copies of any Memoir he may have presented to the Society, may be allowed, upon application to the Council, to have a certain number, not exceeding Twenty, printed off at his own expense.

At a Council, May 23, 1792.

RESOLVED,

THAT the Order made the 31st of May, 1782, with respect to Gentlemen who may be desirous to have separate Copies of any Memoir they may have presented to the Society, be printed in the volumes of the Archaeologia, in some proper and conspicuous part, for the better communication of the same to the Members at large.



ARCHAEOLOGIA;
OR,
MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS,
&c.

- I. *Observations on the Origin of Gothic Architecture, with an Appendix. Communicated by George Saunders, Esq., F. R. S. and F. A. S., in a Letter to The Right Hon. Sir Joseph Banks, Bart., K. B., Pr. R. S. and F. A. S.*

Read 24th January, 1811.

SIR,

WHEN in conversation I offered some ideas on the Origin of Gothic Architecture, you were pleased to express a wish that they should be committed to writing. I am sorry that various circumstances should so long have prevented me from presenting the following observations, which, after all the attention other avocations would allow, I am still afraid are not so clear as could be desired. Many of the technical terms in common use, relating to this subject, not being well defined in the English language, I must solicit your indulgence in regard to the notes of explanation which I have occasionally been induced to add: and I beg it to be understood, that the appellation of *Gothic* is here restricted to that kind of building, in which the covering of a void space is composed of two similar curves meeting together, and forming an angle at the top, usually termed a *Pointed Arch*.

The pointed arch over apertures in walls, occurs as an accidental deviation from the customary mode of building, in works of early periods, and in widely distant countries. We find its embryo in the inclined stones over the entrance into the great Pyramid at Ghize in Egypt;^a and it is met with in the buildings of the Chinese,^b a people who disdain the model offered by another country. Convenience under certain circumstances may at times have induced the application of this pointed form over apertures; but we must look for some strongly operating cause for its establishment on a regular system, during the period that Gothic Architecture flourished.

In pure Grecian Architecture, horizontal cielings are accompanied by horizontal tops to the apertures; with the Roman arched cielings, circular headed apertures prevail; and this correspondence of parts is in no instance more evident than in Gothic Architecture. As, in general, the form of covering the void spaces between the walls of a building ultimately governs that of the openings in the walls that are beneath it; the vaultings,^c which constitute so essential a part in Gothic Architecture, become the proper object of investigation.

It has generally been observed, that the Saxons in this country imitated the Romans in the circular form of their arches. In what are esteemed to be Saxon buildings, the circular form in the vaulting occurs; but the manner of constructing the vaulting is very different from the superior method practised by the Romans. In cross-vaulting, the intersections on the diagonal lines produce angles, or groins, as they are technically termed, the execution of which in cut stone is the master work of masonry: in the Saxon times, this difficult operation was avoided by constructing the vaulting of rubble work, consisting of stones in fragments, mixed with mortar, with a lining of

^a De Non Voyage en Egypt, pl. 20. B.

^b Barrow's Travels in China, p. 337.

^c Vaulting is a general term for arches covering a void space between walls: in that species which is the subject of this paper, it is constituted of two essential parts, viz., continued vaulting, or shell as it is sometimes called, and the arched ribs which are placed beneath it.

Vault has been used in the same sense as vaulting; but vault is now more commonly applied to mean a subterranean cellar.

stucco on the under surface. The groined arches of those times were generally small, a chamber having many columns or piers within it, to procure the requisite support; and a regular arch of cut stone,^d of nearly the breadth of the column or pier, was usually placed beneath the rubble shell of the vaulting; the cut arches passing from pillar to pillar in a rectangular direction to each other, and resting upon little more than the projecting mouldings of the capitals.^e Examples of this mode, although denominated Saxon, are, in the greater number of cases that exist, found to have been erected about the time of William the Conqueror; and as relating to Gothic works, may be called the first class of groined arches, represented in Plate I.^f

It has been observed, that groins of the first class were generally confined to small spaces: the feebleness of their construction in rubble work would naturally prevent their application on a very large scale; for groins, even when formed in the best manner of cut stone, are the weakest part of vaulting: and as the builders continued to construct the groined vaulting of rubble work, when larger vaulting was desired in churches, it became necessary to fortify the weak parts. They had previously placed arched ribs in the transverse direction of the vaulting; they now added diagonal ribs^g under the inter-

^d An arch of cut stone is said to be regular when, in the circular curve, the lines of the joints, if produced, converge to one centre: and in all cases a regular cut arch is constituted by the joint being perpendicular to the tangent at the same point of the curve. When the joint is inclined more or less to the tangent, it forms a *scheme* arch. The first kind is alluded to in this relation, and may be termed the radiated arch.

^e This description applies to such groins as are produced by vaultings which cross each other at right angles.

^f See Appendix (A).

^g On account of the ambiguity that occurs in writings on this subject, by authors having indiscriminately applied the same term to different parts, it may be necessary to explain that here, and throughout this discussion, when speaking of the diagonal or transverse direction of the arch-ribs, &c. the horizontal plan of them is alluded to; and that the terms transverse and diagonal relate to the linear direction of the columns, piers, and walls on the ground. In a quadrangular space covered with a groined arch, the diagonal ribs are those which, resting on the four angles, cross each other in the middle of the space. The transverse ribs are those which pass over the sides of the quadrangular space.

sections of the cross vaulting, to procure additional strength: these diagonal ribs were of cut stone, formed into mouldings, and sometimes enriched with carving. In the first application of diagonal ribs, the transverse arched ribs continued of the original plain form, but were afterwards moulded, to correspond the better with the diagonal ribs, as represented in Plate II. which may be considered as the second class of groined arches.^h

That these diagonal ribs were put up after the shell of the vaulting was turned, is shewn by the stucco on the under surface being generally brought down a considerable depth below the rubble work of the vaulting, over the haunchesⁱ of the diagonal ribs; which is the consequence of the diagonal rib being of a circular curve, while the intersecting line of the cross vaulting tends to an elliptical one; and that they were added for strength, is evinced by instances in the same work, where they have been put up only so far as they were judged to be necessary; contiguous groins being left without them, which in some cases are visibly failing for want of the additional support.^k

The means pursued in the construction of vaulting at this period are particularly interesting, as they conducted to that change which has been the object of so much inquiry. The builders do not seem to have been aware that in the projection of the curves, if the diagonal ribs were circular, those at the sides should be elliptical, to coincide with each other; and on the contrary, that if the side ribs were circular, the diagonal ribs should be elliptical.

^h See Appendix (B).

ⁱ The vertex of the arch is, in technical language, called the crown; the side of the arch contiguous to the part whereon it rests, is called the springing; and some part between the vertex and the springing, is called the haunch: but how far each of these parts extends, is nowhere, that I know of, explained. It will be convenient to consider each half of the whole arch, from the base to the summit, as divided into four equal parts; of which the lowest one will be called the springing, the next two the haunch, and the uppermost the crown: and this may always be understood to relate to the inside, or sofit of the arch, unless the word *outer* be added. The whole line of an arch, whose sides rest on the same level base, will in this way be divided into eight equal parts, whereof two belong to the springings, four to the two haunches, and two to the crown.

^k See Appendix (C).

We meet with the second class of vaulting mostly in the ailes of cathedrals and large churches, built, or altered, during great part of the twelfth century. The bays¹ of vaulting were generally longest on that side which was in the direction of the ailes; the long side having at first an arch which was a semicircle; and the shorter side, which crossed the aisle, being in like manner terminated at the top, but having the horns of the semicircle continued downwards in perpendicular lines to the same level base with the others, as shewn in Plate II. It was probably soon observed, that when the sides of a bay were nearly of equal length, the arch of the diagonal rib obtained but a small height in proportion to its subtense, and was consequently weak where strength was chiefly wanted. More elevation was procured by raising all the side arches; and sometimes, instead of continuing the horns of the transverse arches downwards in perpendicular lines, the curve exceeded the half of a circle, forming what is called the horse-shoe arch.^m With all these expedients they could not however make the several parts to conform to each other; and the sofite of the vaulting is seen to be connected to the ribs in many distorted shapes. Almost every specimen in this stage of their works evinces a struggle to accomplish the twofold object of applying semicircular diagonal ribs for greater strength; and of combining three arches of equal height, but of different subtenses, in one bay of vaulting, in a manner that might produce a regularity in the workmanship. Not being able to effect this with circular topped arches, recourse was had to an expedient, simple in itself, but which led to the production of those extraordinary works, which are not less the admiration than the astonishment of the present age.

The first material change was in the transverse ribs, where the subtense of one arch being longer than that of the other in the same bay, two portions of the semicircle that extended over the longer side,

¹ A bay is the quadrangular space over which a pair of diagonal ribs extend, that rest on the four angles. The same term is also used for the horizontal space comprised between two principal beams.

^m See Appendix (D).

were placed over the narrower one, and being raised to the same height as the arch over the longer side, formed the pointed top where they met. This seems to have been eagerly adopted, as may well be supposed, on account of its being a convenient mode of executing what must have been in the prior operations a very uncertain procedure: and the shell of the vaulting now assuming more regularity in the adjustment of its parts, began to be constructed in courses of cut chalk.

Having proceeded thus far towards remedying the inconveniences of the former mode of constructing the cross vaulting, there was little more required to bring it to a satisfactory completion; and we accordingly find in the same building a continuation of work, beginning in the ailes with the first change from the second class of vaulting, and progressively advancing to the third class of groined arches, which is represented in Plate III. as it was in use about the close of the twelfth century; in which the diagonal rib over the largest space was made the semicircle; and two portions of the same curve were applied to each of the side arches, where they produced the pointed top; forming a work that was at once easy to execute, of great strength, and of a pleasing appearance.ⁿ

The frequent destruction of ecclesiastical structures by fire, together with the immense riches they contained, must in that age have occasioned a strong desire of rendering them as secure as possible from such an accident; and a practicable mode of vaulting over large spaces could not fail of being greatly encouraged. Vaultings on the new system of construction, instead of being confined, as in the former practice, to ailes and other parts of small extent, were now erected over every part of the building, to the greatest width between the walls.

It is difficult to conceive in what manner the centering for the second class of vaulting was contrived, unless we suppose it was left to the hazard of being fashioned at the fancy of workmen, who, from what appears, could have no principle to guide them.^o Had the more

ⁿ See Appendix (E).

^o See Appendix (F).

scientific mode of combining elliptical with circular arches been pursued in the vaulting, with the utmost expertness in that practice, the charge of centering would have been a weighty consideration; and that of cut stone work much greater; for over an oblong quadrangle, which was the usual form of the space covered by one bay of vaulting, the largest portion of the great number of stones that compose it would each require a different shape and a separate mould for working it: but in the point-arched vaulting, every stone is cut to the same curve, and is of consequent easy preparation. Besides the easy workmanship, so much natural strength was found to result from the elevated figure of the arch, that very thin substances, and those substances of the softest kind, were applied to form the shell of the vaulting. Reflecting on these circumstances, it is not surprising that so much eagerness immediately ensued for the application of the new arches: every religious fraternity seems to have been ambitious of adorning its church with the new vaulting.^p

After some practice in the third class of groined arches, the ribs seem to have been put up before the shell of the vaulting. It was probably soon discovered that the transverse ribs were very unsteady, until assisted by the upper vaulting. A stone-band was added beneath the intended ridge of the vaulting, for connecting the several ribs together;^q and successively, intermediate ribs were introduced between those in the diagonal and transverse positions. By these additions to the third class, forming the fourth class of groined arches, Plate IV. as executed towards the end of the thirteenth century, this system of vaulting may be said to have attained its utmost perfection.^r The numerous stone ribs, strongly bound together by the application of the ridge-band, afforded, by their proximity, a skeleton well adapted for laying on the shell of the vaulting above it, with scarcely any centering, more than was required for putting up the ribs.

^p See Appendix (G).

^q In the third class, over the part where the ridge-band was afterwards introduced, it is not uncommon to find the shell of the vaulting curved from the top of the diagonal to the top of the transverse rib,

^r See Appendix (H).

In the first specimens of vaulting of the fourth class, the diagonal ribs were generally in a small degree pointed at the top; as were some instances of the third class, when in contracted spaces; but we find round topped diagonal ribs afterwards employed, where local circumstances did not induce a greater height than the semicircular rib would occupy.^s The rib-work of the fourth class of vaulting easily led the way to all the playful variety, seen not only in the tracery of the arched ceilings, but also in every other part of the building that had any relation to it: of these, windows particularly call for a separate consideration, as their form is so much influenced by that of the ceilings.

There is scarcely any part of a building more exposed to alteration than the window: it is generally the first that is subjected to the mandate of caprice for changing either its form or size. A very close and discriminating inspection of the surrounding stone work is requisite for ascertaining the originality of window openings in the very ancient buildings of this country; few remaining in the state of their first formation. In buildings which appear of a date anterior to any record we have of them, windows are found of a very narrow and long proportion;^t these require to be noticed, on account of their early application in Gothic works.

^s In narrow ailes, the diagonal ribs were frequently much elevated, with pointed tops.—The ridge-band often inclines downwards from the top of the diagonal to the top of the transverse ribs; which along the middle division of churches (where the breadth between the walls usually makes the longest side of a bay) is scarcely perceptible from the floor. This inclination of the ridge-band is caused by setting up the transverse rib, so as to preserve the centre of the curve's circle (being the same curve as that of the diagonal rib) on a level with the base of the springing of the arch. When one side of a bay is very much contracted in proportion to the other side (as sometimes happens against the side walls of the middle division of churches) the great inclination of the ridge-band, which would be occasioned by this procedure, is in several cases avoided by making a portion of the transverse rib, on the narrow side, a perpendicular line for some height above the base of the other ribs. As builders became more expert in the execution of point-arched vaulting, other means were afterwards practised, to procure a better accordance of lines, by a little variation in the curves of the ribs.

^t Sir Christopher Wren observes (*Parentalia*, p. 297), that in the English buildings before the Norman period, "the windows were very narrow and latticed."

As the construction of our ancient churches is very interesting, and the opinions thereon at much variance, I presume little apology need be made for offering here a few observations on the subject. On the one side it is contended, that, previous to the Norman advent, English churches were little better than timber fabricks, covered with wood or thatch; on the other hand it is asserted that, except in magnitude, there was little difference between the Saxon and Norman buildings; and the testimony of ancient writers is equally brought forward in support of each side of the question.^u The authorities advanced in favour of the latter supposition are professedly descriptions of buildings that were considered to be magnificent and uncommon in the Saxon times: and this is corroborated by the circumstance of artists being brought from foreign parts to construct these buildings *more Romanorum*. The Roman manner of that time is nearly obliterated at the Papal capital by buildings, since erected, after the fashion that took place at the revolution in architecture in the fifteenth century. Although the bodies of churches were almost universally rebuilt at Rome, yet in some instances the ancient *Campanile*, or bell tower, still remains, sufficient to shew in the apertures, the same kind of architecture as that which is here called Saxon; occasionally exhibiting a large circular arch, containing smaller ones within it that rest on short columns. That there were some buildings in England, described to have been of extraordinary magnificence, does not necessarily imply that the same style prevailed in the more ordinary works of this country; but the most reasonable conclusion to be drawn from thence, and that which best coincides with the several accounts, is, that some extraordinary buildings were erected here by foreigners *more Romanorum*; and that the customary mode of building churches in this island before the Norman advent, was with plain walls, or wood, covered with shingles of board, and roofed with the same, or with thatch. The face-work cut on the stone of some old buildings, in

^u This subject is discussed at considerable length in Bentham's History of Ely Cathedral, page 15 *et seq.*

imitation of these shingles, is a confirmation of an origin in wood.* The situation of Britain, after being quitted by the Romans, prevented the natives raising more than temporary buildings; and therefore little advantage could be taken of the superior examples left by the former masters of the world. How little a people in an abject state are capable of profiting by the best examples before their eyes, has been witnessed both at Greece and Rome; where, becoming subject to Barbarians, architecture quickly degenerated to a correspondent rudeness: the produce will always be influenced by the demand. A superior intelligence in what related to building could not be expected from tribes of roving Saxons; and any little advance that might have been made in the arts after the settlement of the Saxons in Britain, must again have been depressed by the long contentions with the piratical Danes. In buildings of what is called the Saxon period, it is probable that, if any vaultings occurred, they were confined to small groins in crypts, as represented in Plate I. having above ground, no other than arched apertures in the walls, and arches over the columns and piers.

Of the ancient buildings, erected in the simple manner that has been mentioned, we cannot expect at this distant period to find many examples. A few remains of small buildings, appearing of a remote age, have in the walls long and narrow windows, being on the outside only a few inches in breadth, but are widely splayed within, and are many feet in height. Some of the windows have semicircular arched heads, and others are terminated at the top with a sharper curve^y on the outside: the inside being formed into a low circular segment that extends to the upper extremities of the splayed sides, as shewn in Plate I.^z

The first productions of a new species of architecture must be ex-

* See Appendix (I).

^y The common terms for arched tops to apertures are, flat arched, round arched, sharp arched, and point arched; round arched usually implying a semicircle; and sharp arched, a curve verging more towards an angle.

^z See Appendix (K).

pected to shew marks of the national habitudes of the place wherever it is executed. In the primary establishment of the pointed arch vaulting in this country, the first essays towards a correspondent window consisted in combining several narrow ones together, which being separately pointed at the top, have obtained the name of lancet windows: the most successful instances are in the combination of three, the middle one being higher than the other two, as represented in Plate III.^a This manner was not long practised before it was found that a pointed arch passing over the whole, and including along with the combined lancet windows, surmounted circles, variously disposed as in Plate IV.^b and progressively changed to mullions spreading upwards into diversified ramifications, would better accord with the upper lines of the interior of the building: this association of lines being approved, the pointed arch became the established practice for terminating every opening, and constituted the system of what is called Gothic Architecture.

Having presented my own ideas on the Origin of Gothic Architecture, I think it a just tribute of respect to the opinion of others, to notice what they have advanced on the same subject; adding a summary of what I have offered, for the purpose of bringing the whole into a concise view.

Sir Christopher Wren was of opinion, that Gothic Architecture was derived from the Saracens, and introduced here at the return of the Christians from the crusades.^c Some authors have conceived that it was brought from the Moors of Spain.^d Bishop Warburton says that it was an imitation of groves of trees, and that the mixing of the branches from opposite stems was the prototype of the tracery in vaulted ceilings.^e Governor Pownal thought it resulted from an an-

^a See Appendix (L).

^b See Appendix (M).

^c Parentalia, p. 297, 298. 306.

^d Shaw's Travels, p. 218, edit. 1757.

^e Note on Pope's Epistle to the Earl of Burlington, vol. III. p. 266 *et seq.* edit. 1751 of Pope's Works.

cient manner of building with timber “*more Teutonico.*”^f Sir James Hall^g deduces it from a model of wood, in which the fabric is sustained by an assemblage of poles bent towards each other, and forming pointed top arches where they meet and are connected together; the various intersections of poles, and accidental swellings of the bark and buds, supplying hints for the decorative parts. A greater number^h trace Gothic Architecture from interlaced circular arches, which individually passing over the two spaces which intervene between three columns, produce, by the intersections, a pointed arch over each single intercolumniation: and lately the ornamented pinnacles, and other decorations, found in some Italian buildings of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, have been adduced as early examples of Gothic works.ⁱ

Sir Christopher Wren’s opinion has been deemed to have little foundation; it being observed, that no traces of the kind of architecture alluded to are discovered among the Saracenic buildings of Syria.^k In the Moresque works of Spain, the kind called horse-shoe arches prevail: they are mostly circular, but sometimes have an obtuse angle at the top.^l The pointed form can scarcely be thought to be derived from interlaced arches, when it is recollected that the pointed arch in apertures occasionally occurs in so many places; and probably long anterior to the checquered work it is referred to: but allowing all the authorities sought for in this supposed derivation, it will only apply to apertures. Concerning pointed arch vaulting, much ingenuity has been displayed in deducing it from models of wood,

^f Comm. to the Antiq. Soc. Archæol. vol. IX. p. 110.

^g Edinb. Roy. Soc. Trans. 1798. vol. IV.

^h Carter’s ancient Architecture of England, part I. Note at the end of the Preface. Milner’s History of Winchester, vol. II. p. 163. Sir R. C. Hoare’s Gir. Cam. vol. II. p. 415. 428. Bentham mentions (Hist. of Ely Cathedral, p. 37) the same opinion to have been entertained when he wrote.

ⁱ Smirke comm. to the Antiq. Soc. Archæol. vol. XV. p. 363. 373.

^k Bentham’s Hist. of Ely Cathedral, p. 37. Swinburne’s Travels through Spain, vol. II. p. 262, *et seq.* edit. 1787. And see Appendix (N).

^l Plates of “*Antiguedades Arabes de España.*” Swinburne’s Travels through Spain, vol. I. p. 140; vol. II. p. 262, edit. 1787.

either in nature or art: these furnish pleasing similies, but, as relating to prototypes, they are not reconcileable to the gradation observed in the growth of that species of work in stone. In the culture of Gothic Architecture, which admitted of an almost boundless variety in its ornaments, hints for improving the parts, and for embellishments, might be collected from many sources; and of those suggested, several may have contributed a portion: but these enrichments were added to Gothic Architecture after the principles of that mode of building were established; the plainness of which, when first produced in great works, as represented in Plate III. does not coincide with such an ornamental origin. These various conjectures appear to be founded on a supposition, that Gothic Architecture was an imitation of some pre-existing model.

In proof of what I have advanced, that Gothic Architecture was generated from the prior practice of vaulting, there has been exhibited the successive changes which vaulting has undergone in this country, from the time of the Saxons until the establishment of the pointed form; shewing, that in consequence of the rude manner of constructing groined vaultings in early times, they were necessarily confined to small spaces; that in the progress of enlarging the dimensions of vaulting, recourse was had to diagonal ribs, for adding more strength; but that these diagonal ribs increased the difficulty of execution. I have noticed the inability of the builders to construct a concurrence of arches of different extent to the same height, and the various expedients resorted to in those operations; that a simple mode was at length devised of applying segments of the same curve throughout a quadrangle of the ceiling, which formed pointed arches on the sides of the groined vaulting, and thereby established the principles of Gothic Architecture. After some remarks on apertures in early use, it has been observed, that the pointed arch in vaulting being established, the introduction of a corresponding form in apertures was a natural consequence; and that, without such a determination in the vaulting, there existed no reason for the apertures being confined to the pointed shape; and lastly, that embellishments may have been

derived from many sources, constituting by a judicious application; characteristic accessories to this species of building.

I am, with much respect,

Sir,

Your very obedient, humble servant,

GEO. SAUNDERS.

252, Oxford Street,
October 31, 1810.

The Right Honourable
Sir JOSEPH BANKS, Bart., K. B.
&c. &c. &c.

A P P E N D I X.

(A.) OF the first kind of groined arches is the vaulting in the crypt of the church of St. Peter in the East at Oxford, supposed to have been erected by Grymbald about the close of the ninth century (see Mr. Theobald's communications to the Antiquary Society, *Archæol.* vol. I. p. 151), and esteemed to be one of the oldest examples remaining. The same, on a very large scale, occurs in the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral, under the choir, having rubble vaulting and cut stone arches beneath; attributed to Lanfranc, about the year 1070, but bearing strong marks in the capitals of the columns, of nearly the same age as Grymbald's work. And a similar example of such arches, being apparently of rubble work, occurs in the ailes of the Chapel in the White Tower at London, by Gundulph, about the year 1078 (*Stow's Survey of London*, p. 73, edit. 1618): it may generally be observed, that the springings of such arches are of cut stone, although the part above is executed in rubble.

(B.) Many vaultings of the second class have been put up subsequently to the original building. The ailes of the nave of Rochester Cathedral, built by Gundulph, between the years 1077 and 1107 (*Thorpe's Custumale Roffense*, p. 153), were not originally vaulted, and still remain without vaulting. A specimen of plain transverse arches under the vaulting is seen in the ailes of Romsey Abbey Church, where the diagonal ribs are evidently a subsequent addition; and of nearly plain transverse ribs, with moulded diagonal ribs, at the Cathedral of Christ Church at Oxford, in the ailes east of the transept.

The Church of St. Cross, near Winchester, is a very curious instance of the changes that took place, after its foundation by Bishop de Blois, about the year 1136 (*Milner's History of Winchester*, ed. 1809, vol. II. p. 153); but as we have not the dates when the several parts of the building were executed, and as alterations in the parts evidently were made during the progress of the building, we unfortu-

nately cannot draw that information from it, which so desirable a subject leads us to wish.

The nave of Peterborough Minster, with the exception of the pointed arch windows, which are a subsequent work, has undergone no alteration of importance since the first erection of it by Benedict during his abbotship between the years 1177 and 1193 (MS. Chronicle of Swapham, in the library of Peterborough Cathedral: this is said to be corroborated by a perfectly unconnected MS. of the Abbot John, which last I have not seen). The ailes of this nave are vaulted in the manner represented in fig. 2, having ribs of cut stone under a shell of rubble work.

(C.) In the transepts of Winchester Cathedral, built by Bishop Walkelin, between the years 1079 and 1093 (Milner's History of Winchester, ed. 1809, vol. II. p. 11), the ailes are vaulted, having plain transverse cut stone arches beneath: the groins commence with cut stone at the springings, but quickly proceed to rough stone work, attempting near the springings to preserve the courses, but soon fall into random work, with joints of mortar nearly as thick as the stone. Diagonal ribs have been added to nearly half the whole number of these groins; and some of the others are in danger of falling. I speak of this vaulting as it appeared in November 1807, when I was told it was under consideration to add diagonal ribs where they were deficient.

(D.) Instances of horse-shoe arches may be seen at Romsey Abbey Church, at Oxford, and Winchester Cathedrals; with perpendicular continuations of the sides of the arches in the same bay; evincing the indecision of their proceedings in the execution of this kind of work.

(E.) Salisbury Cathedral is an eminent example of the third class of vaulting. The building being uniform throughout in the design and preparation of the vaulting which covers it, the vaulting may be considered of the same date with the foundation of the edifice, which was commenced in the year 1220 (William de Wanda; see the translation in Price's Observations on the Cathedral Church of Sarum, p. 8). A considerable part of the vaulting must have been finished in

the year 1225, as divine service was performed in the church, and several altars were then consecrated in it. (Ibid. p. 11, 12.)

The first occurrences in a change from the round to the pointed arch vaulting might not have been easy to trace near the time of their being produced: at this distant period the difficulty must be greater.

The nave of Peterborough Minster was built, as has been mentioned, between the years 1177 and 1193. The ailes are vaulted, but the upper ceiling of the nave is of wood. The vaulting of the ailes was not executed before the year 1177, and gives no indication whatever of a knowledge of the pointed arch vaulting: In the side walls under the upper ceiling, over the nave, there is, however, a preparation for pointed arch vaulting; not very efficient, it is true (as they seem to have discovered, by not covering the nave with vaulting), but the preparation sufficiently informs us, that pointed arch vaulting was known before the year 1193, although not so generally as to enable the workmen at this place to execute it with safety on so large a scale as the upper ceiling of a nave.

The Cathedral of Canterbury furnishes some interesting particulars respecting works of that age, related by Gervase (Gervas. Dorob. de combust. et repar. Dorob. eccl. Dec. Script. apud Twysden, ed. 1652, col. 1289, et seq.) who was an eye-witness of the proceedings, with an unusual precision in an historian writing on subjects of this nature; and as the work under notice remains exactly as described by him, it is an object which claims attentive examination. Gervase states, that the old choir of the cathedral was burnt down on the 5th of September 1174; that architects, both French and English, were consulted on the reconstruction of what had been destroyed; and that the advice of William (Senonensis) of Sens being most approved, he was selected for executing the work. Gervase speaks of this person as being a man of quick discernment, of uncommon ingenuity, and great abilities; that preparations being made, the new works were commenced a year after the fire happened, and that in the progressive year (1175—1176) four pillars and three bays of vaulting were constructed to each aile at the sides of the choir: in the year following (1176—1177) he placed two more pillars on each side, and com-

pleted the vaulting of the aisles from the great tower to the transept of the choir; and having carried up the walls over the pillars, and having formed the upper windows of that part, he constructed three bays of the large vaulting over the choir, reaching from the great tower to the transept, in the same year (1176—1177). Gervase speaks of this bold undertaking as exciting much admiration and praise, and as encouraging them to a continuance of the same work; that in prosecuting the work in the succeeding year (1177—1178), and preparing for turning the large bay of vaulting, where the east transept crosses the choir, the scaffold fell with William of Sens from the height of fifty feet: he however continued to give instructions while confined to his bed; and that large bay of vaulting appears to have been completed under his directions. William of Sens not recovering from the hurt he had received, found himself obliged to relinquish the superintendence of this business, and returned to France. In the next year (1178—1179), William, an Englishman, succeeded to the charge of this undertaking: he vaulted the north and south parts of the transept, and finished the east end of the choir, together with new building Becket's Chapel from the foundation; being engaged on this work, according to Gervase's account, until towards the close of the year 1184.

The work, which is the object of present notice, is that which was done from the year 1175 to 1178, by William of Sens, in the choir and its aisles between the east and west transepts, together with the bay where the east transept crosses the choir. The crypt under this part of the choir is a remain of the old building, which existed previous to the fire of 1174, with an addition, of the same age as the work in the choir, under the fifth arches from the great tower, to each of the two massive piers that occur beneath the pillars of the choir on the west side of the east transept. This addition to the two piers in the crypt must have been made for the purpose of extending the distance of the four principal pillars to enlarge the bay above, where the transept crosses the choir; a circumstance accounting for the irregularity observed in the position of the other pillars of the choir. The outer walls of this part of the building, to a little above the second

tier of windows, under the vaulting of the ailes, are also of the ancient structure; but the whole of the interior, east of the west transept, above the floor of the choir, is a work subsequent to the fire of 1174.

The vaulting over the aile on each side is divided into five bays, and is of the kind which preceded this period, with round topped transverse and diagonal ribs beneath the shell of the vaulting; except in the first bay next to the west transept, where the breadth of the ailes being less than the eastward parts, the transverse ribs are point arched, to preserve the same height as the others. The large vaulting over the choir, between the west and east transepts, is divided into three bays; each of the two easternmost comprise two bays of the lower openings at the sides of the choir, and have a transverse rib crossing the middle of the bay at the intersection of the diagonal ribs, and thus form altogether five bays of arches against the side walls, corresponding to the number beneath: this upper vaulting has point arched transverse ribs throughout: the narrow bay next to the great tower, has point arched diagonal ribs; but the two large bays have round topped diagonal ribs. The shell of the vaulting forms round topped arches against the side walls over three bays of the lower openings westward, and point topped arches over two bays of the lower openings eastward; and no mouldings, or half ribs, occur under the vaulting against the side walls. The vaulting of the large bay, where the east transept crosses the choir, is completely of the pointed arch form, with round topped diagonal ribs.

The pillars dividing the choir from the ailes are alternately round and octagonal, with capitals somewhat like the ancient Roman composite. Gervase says the form and thickness of the pillars are the same as those which existed previously to the fire, but that the new ones were twelve feet more in length; and that the old pillars had plain capitals.

The openings between the pillars have pointed arches: the next tier of openings above has, in each of four bays on either side, two pointed arches surmounted by a round topped arch; and in each of the fifth bays, next to the east transept, one pointed arch surmounted

by a round topped arch. The upper tier of openings of each of the three first bays on either side is in three divisions, with pointed arches, the centre one loftier than the adjoining arches: the extreme springings of the latter being much lower than the other of the same arch, for the better following the shape of the vaulting above: in each of the two last bays eastward, on either side, there is but one pointed arch, which is of a larger breadth.

The first work executed by William of Sens in the ailes, exhibits no knowledge of the pointed arch vaulting; for where a pointed arch occurs in the transverse ribs, it was evidently done to preserve an equal height with corresponding ribs over a larger extent, which have rounded tops: and for the same reason the pointed arches were placed over the intervals between the columns dividing the ailes from the choir, the sides of the bays being here narrowest in the direction of the ailes. The cause of adopting the pointed arch in this case is obvious. Gervase acquaints us with the difficulty the architect had to get his employers to consent to the old stone work being taken down, for making the interior of new work: and the exterior walls and crypt being maintained, he mentions how ingeniously the architect accommodated the forms of the new work to the irregularities caused by the old building. The architect's ingenuity was here exerted to produce a work of a tolerably good appearance in the arches which were to pass over the unequal spaces: this he managed by pointed arches over the narrower intervals, to correspond in height with the round topped arches over wider intervals; no other preference appears for pointed arches in the lower openings, for in all the wider spaces, round topped arches are employed.

The expedient resorted to for the arches at the sides, being much more wanted for surmounting the difficulties in the old manner of vaulting; and those means not being applied to the vaulting of the ailes, which was so immediately connected with the side arches, plainly shew that pointed arch vaulting was not then in contemplation. It is however scarcely possible to examine the work attentively, without supposing that, from these initial operations, the architect conceived the great use to which pointed arches might be applied in vaulting;

and as the work advanced, projected the bold design of executing, with their help, the large vaulting over the choir.

The vaulting executed by William of Sens over the choir carries with it evidence of a novel attempt in that kind of work. Although all the transverse ribs are point arched, and the diagonal ribs of the first bay (being the narrow one next the great tower) are in the same form, yet the shell of the vaulting, both in this and in the next bay, is round arched against the side walls. The second bay being divided by a transverse rib across the middle, makes it difficult to imagine how the architect could avoid adopting the pointed, instead of the round topped form, against the side walls: but by the time the work advanced to the third bay from the great tower, pointed arch vaulting begins to appear against the side walls; and in the bay where the east transept crosses the choir, which was the last work of William of Sens, a complete conception of pointed arch vaulting was attained, this being, both in the shell of the vaulting and in the ribs, point arched on every side, with round topped diagonal ribs. But what proves that the large vaulting over the choir was not designed at the commencement of this work is, that the thin columns placed against the side walls of the choir for supporting the ribs of the upper vaulting, rest upon the capitals of the columns which divide the choir from the aisles, and overhang them in an awkward manner, instead of resting on the floor of the choir, as they would undoubtedly have done, had they formed a part in the original plan. It is also deserving of attention, that Gervase describes (not until the third year of the work, and therefore not until the architect had had the opportunity of perceiving what was wanted for pointed arch vaulting) that William of Sens added small columns to the four pillars under the great bay of vaulting where the transept crosses the choir: these small columns rising from the floor of the choir, give to the four piers that appearance of continuing the branching lines of the vaulting down to the base of the building, which was afterwards practised with so much beautiful effect in Gothic works. A progressive improvement is observed in the work which succeeded that done by William of Sens, as it advanced eastward, so far as an attention to uniformity would permit; but to

the end of the large vaulting, the marks of little experience in this kind of work may be observed.

The account of these proceedings at Canterbury Cathedral is very interesting in the history of Gothic Architecture. After the fire, architects, both French and English, were brought together to be consulted; and a foreigner, engaged to superintend the works, is characterised by Gervase as a very superior man. William of Sens, the person selected for his skill and knowledge, must be supposed to have been acquainted with the practice of his country; but the commencement of his operations at Canterbury Cathedral does not make it appear that he brought from France any knowledge of the pointed arch vaulting. A number of architects from various parts being assembled together at the consultation before the works were begun, if such a practice had been known any where, it is but reasonable to conclude, that here it would have been explained and adopted in the first operations. Gervase certainly speaks of the large pointed arch vaulting, which was executed two years after the commencement of the works, as an extraordinary production.

The age of the upper vaulting in Chichester Cathedral is not precisely ascertained in any account I have seen. Chichester Cathedral was burnt in the year 1187 (which we must understand to mean only that the roofs and wood-work were destroyed), and it was again consecrated in the year 1199 by Bishop Seffrid (see a copy of the MS. of the late Rev. Mr. Clarke in Hay's History of Chichester, p. 409, 410), who is said to have repaired the church: the vaulting of the transept is, however, generally ascribed to Poore, who was Bishop of Chichester from the year 1214 to 1217; and the other principal works are attributed to several Bishops who succeeded Seffrid. Some of the vaulting, probably a part of that over the choir, must surely have been done in Seffrid's time, to admit of the church being consecrated by him for performing divine service in it. Seffrid died in the year 1204.

The interior of the main body of the Cathedral shews three tiers of arches: the upper tier within has narrow triple openings to a passage

which passes in the thickness of the wall all round the building; the middle openings are opposite to the windows in the outside of the wall, and, except in a very few instances, are round arched, corresponding to the outside windows: the side openings are sharp arched. The wall within has been built since the fire, as low as the bottom of the upper tier of openings; but on the outside, the line of new wall work may be traced almost throughout to be above the tops of the upper windows, which accounts for most of the windows being round arched, while the side openings within are sharp arched. The upper vaulting all over the Cathedral is of a character between that which has been described at Canterbury, and that of Salisbury Cathedral. It will be sufficient to speak of the vaulting over the transept.

The vaulting of the transept has point arched transverse and round topped diagonal ribs. A ridge-band in one of the bays of the north transept is a subsequent addition, evident by the rose at the intersection of the diagonal ribs being cut away for uniting the ridge band at that part. A bay of point arched vaulting, under the great tower, is remarkable for shewing the process of the work: the shell of the vaulting is finished, but only the springings of the ribs exist: these springings appear to be inserted in the walls of the tower, and no doubt form one solid mass with that part of the shell of the vaulting: above these springings of the ribs, the diagonal angles under the shell of the vaulting have been reduced to a sufficient flatness for receiving the diagonal ribs against them; but the diagonal ribs not having been completed, the work remains unfinished, as the original constructors left it. The state of the work makes it appear that the process of constructing this vaulting was to build both the springing of the shell and the ribs together; the superior shell of the vaulting was then erected; and lastly, the ribs were put up beneath the shell of the vaulting. The shell of the vaulting in Chichester Cathedral, wherever it is visible, by the stucco of the under surface having fallen down, is seen to be of chalk irregularly cut, and laid in irregular courses; the most defective part being towards the groining angles. Over the chalk is laid a thick coat of rubble work.

As Bishop Poore was translated from this diocese to that of Salis-

bury, Chichester Cathedral may be regarded as the school from whence he carried the knowledge of that architecture, which was brought to so much excellence at Salisbury.

At Winchester Cathedral, the low building adjoining the choir eastward is a work of Bishop de Lucy, commenced in 1202, and for which he instituted a confraternity of workmen, to endure for five years. (Milner's History of Winchester, ed. 1809, vol. II. p. 14.) This building is in three divisions, separated by clustered columns; the middle division being much wider than the sides or ailes. There are also clustered columns attached to the side walls, from which the vaultings of the ailes spring: this vaulting has round topped diagonal ribs, and point arched transverse ribs, beautifully moulded, and of a character very nearly resembling that of Salisbury Cathedral. The narrow windows being sharp arched, together with the trefoil and quatrefoil work against the wall, very satisfactorily coincide with the date given to this part of the building. The middle division is vaulted somewhat similar to the ailes; but the ribs being only splayed on the edges, instead of having mouldings, as in the ailes, and springing from the tops of single columns, added above the capitals of the clustered columns, give this vaulting an appearance of a hasty, perhaps a subsequent work, done to procure the necessary height for the chantries of Beaufort and Waynflete, placed beneath the middle vaulting.

(F.) Some judgment may be formed of the defective skill of the workmen in constructing the centering for groined vaulting of the second class, by what appears of their work in the simplest of all cases, plain cylindrical vaulting.

Under the chapel of the White Tower at London, a room has the upper part covered with plain cylindrical vaulting, in which the boards of the centering are strongly marked; and fragments of the boards are still adhering to it, which shew that the boarding was of cleft oak in very small pieces, and irregularly disposed, with parts of boards over others. A coat of coarse mortar appears to have been laid over the boards, to make an uniform surface for turning the arch upon.

(G.) In some cases of making the change from the round to the

pointed arch vaulting, there is reason to believe that new columns were substituted for the old piers, between the ailes and middle divisions of the building: the alteration of old piers is frequently observed. In Rochester Cathedral, such alteration proceeded from the east end of the church to the three first piers on each side, at that end of the nave; when probably some alarm of a failure put a stop to the work. At Peterborough Cathedral a similar change was begun; but in reducing the main piers under the great tower, by cutting them into the form of clustered columns, the pier under the south east angle of the tower burst, so as to require being secured with upright timbers and iron bands, in which state it still remains: this of course put a stop to that dangerous work; and perhaps to this incident we are indebted for the preservation of the nave in so much of its pristine state. The old West Church of Stirling is a curious specimen of the advancement made in altering it: the piers at one end of the church being finished to the new style; and the other end remaining in its old state, with the intermediate stages of alteration between the two ends.

(H.) The vaulting over that part of the choir of Westminster Abbey, which is West of the transept, is of the fourth class. The old church was taken down in the year 1245, for the purpose of erecting the present building; the eastern or cross part of which was finished, and divine service performed there, in the year 1269 (Widmore's History of Westminster Abbey, pp. 37. 42. 75). Sir Christopher Wren (Parentalia, p. 297) thought from the appearance of the work, that it had not been completed to four intercolumns West of the transept, in the time of Henry III. who died in 1272; the walls, he supposed, might have been built so far in that King's reign; but the vaulting over the choir, West of the transept, he says, was finished twenty-three years after the King's decease. Sir Christopher Wren does not state the authority from whence he deduced this date of the upper vaulting; and Widmore (Ibid. p. 58) shews that Fox and Stowe follow Fabian, who says (Chron. p. 389, edit. 1810) that in 1285 the new work of the church to the end of the choir was fully finished and ended. It is probable that Sir Christopher derived his information from the same

source, and that there was an error in transcribing 23 for 13 years, as the last number would make his account correspond with that of Fabian: on this supposition, the work to the West end of the choir may be reckoned to have continued 40 years from its commencement in 1245 to its completion in 1285: during this period there was a progressive advance from the third to the fourth class of vaulting. The ailes, being the first vaulting, in the order of proceeding with the new building, are of the third class, having no ridge-band. The next vaulting executed was over the East end of the main body and the transept, having a ridge-band in the longitudinal direction of the building, but none in the transverse direction, nor any other than diagonal and transverse ribs: but West of the transept, ridge-bands were introduced in the transverse, as well as in the longitudinal direction of the church, with the increase of intermediate ribs, between those in the diagonal and transverse positions, as represented in Plate IV. The work executed in the reign of Henry III. and Edward I. is easily distinguished from the coarser work done after that time; the former extending Westward of the transept, five bays of vaulting over the ailes, five bays in the side walls of the middle division, and four bays of vaulting over the middle division, which last are also over the choir.

(I.) There is in the Bodleian Library at Oxford a manuscript of Cædmon's Saxon Paraphrase of the book of Genesis, which is decided by persons conversant with ancient autographs (of whom it will be sufficient to mention the name of Mr. ELLIS, of the British Museum), to be undoubtedly of about the year 1000, rather earlier than later, but not exceeding fifty years of that period. It contains rude drawings, some of which have been engraved: a copy is preserved in the library of the British Museum (intituled, "*Figuræ quædam antiquæ ex Cædmonis monachi paraphraseos in Genesin 1754.*") In the plate marked "pag. 59" is a church with a square tower and a spire upon it: there is also a porch at the side of the church. The spire, as well as the church, is covered with round ended shingles. This is not only an evidence of shingles being an ancient practice, but also of spires and porches having existed long anterior to the time usually allotted to

their introduction. Bentham (*Hist. of Ely Cathedral*, pp. 39, 40,) expresses an opinion that spires did not occur much before the year 1222; and Warton thought not before the year 1200 (*Obs. on the Fairy Queen of Spenser*, vol. II. p. 195, edit. 1762).

On the outside of the tower of Castor church in Northamptonshire, the stone-work is cut in imitation of shingles. Dr. Stukely (*Iter. 5. p. 79*, edit. 1724) speaks of this tower as being an ancient piece of architecture. The tower appeared to me to be much older than the rest of the church; the subsequent addition of the other parts was evident in the contiguous work of the walls.

(K.) St. Martin's near Canterbury is supposed to be the oldest Christian church in this island. Bede's words are (speaking of the arrival of St. Augustin, and of his reception by King Ethelbert at Canterbury), "Erat autem prope ipsam civitatem ad orientem ecclesia in honorem Sancti Martini antiquitus facta, dum adhuc Romani Britanniam incolerent, in qua Regina, quam Christianam fuisse prædiximus, orare consueverat. In hac ergo et ipsi primo convenire, psalere, orare, Missas facere, prædicare, et baptizare cœperunt; donec Rege ad fidem converso, majorem prædicandi per omnia et ecclesias fabricandi vel restaurandi licentiam acciperent." (*Bedæ. Hist. Eccl. cura. J. Smith. fol. Cantab. 1722. lib. I. cap. 26.*) Wherever the outside stucco is broken away, the original walls of the chancel are seen to be entirely of Roman brick: in the other parts of the church there is a mixture of Roman brick with the rough stone of which the walls are built. In the chancel are two lancet windows on the north, and one on the south side, about six feet high and sixteen inches wide, point arched without, and splayed to about four feet wide within. The surrounding edges on the inside have the appearance of being of the original work of the walls; but the outside stucco did not permit an examination, when the observation was made, to ascertain if the stone frames of the windows are of the same age. The outside stone-work of the windows is in very good condition, and may have possibly been restored in a pointed form, and wider than the first windows. The fabrication of the walls of this chancel being a corroboration of the accounts given of the age of the building, renders it desirable to

ascertain if the outer form of the lancet windows is of the original workmanship. Whenever any of the outside stucco about one of these windows may be displaced, it can be observed if the brick-work is regular to the edges of the stone: if it is not, and if parts of the brick-work contiguous to the stone appear to have been put in since the wall was first built, it may then be concluded that the outside stonework of the windows has been renewed. That all the other point-arched work, within the chancel, is of a date long posterior to the inside work of the lancet windows, is evident by what has been made good about such point arched work; and by one of the lancet windows being curtailed within, to make room for a pointed arch recess beneath it.

There are lancet windows in the chancel of Castor church in Northamptonshire, evidently of the same age with the walls, having outside openings of about eight feet high and nine inches wide, but spreading within to five feet six inches wide and ten feet high. An inscription over a door, of the dedication of this church (Stukely, *Iter.* 5, p. 79, edit. 1724) is dated 1114.

(L.) Plate III. shews the general character of the windows in Salisbury Cathedral.

At Chichester, where the windows are older than the fire of 1187, they are narrow and round arched; but the recesses at the sides of those windows, of the same date as the upper vaulting, are sharp arched. At Winchester, in De Lucy's work of 1202, the windows are narrow and sharp arched.

We may safely conclude, that after pointed arch vaulting was generally known, no other kind of vaulting was executed in the age under notice. The pointed arch in groined vaulting was a case of practical utility: the same necessity did not occur in apertures, over which the pointed arch was by no means the decided practice for a long time after the pointed arch was established in vaulting; as in the instances cited at Chichester and Winchester (the last nearly thirty years after the pointed arch vaulting had been executed at Canterbury), where the vaulting is *point arched*; but the general character of the cōtemporary openings in the walls beneath, is not point, but *sharp arched*.



J. Basire sculp.

*First Class of Groined Arches referred to in the observations on the origin of Gothic Architecture,
by George Saunders.*

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London.



J. Basire sculp.^t

*Second Class of Groined Arches referred to in the observations on the origin of Gothic Architecture,
by George Saunders.*

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London.



J^r Basire sculp^t

Third Class of Groined Arches referred to in the observations on the origin of Gothic Architecture.

by George Saunders.



J. Basire sculp.

*Fourth Class of Groined Arches referred to in the observations on the origin of Gothic Architecture,
by George Saunders.*

(M.) There is a general disposition towards the form of windows shewn in Plate IV, at Westminster Abbey, on the sides of the building; where the proportion admits of only two divisions, instead of three, as represented in Plate IV for a large window.

(N.) A remarkable remain at St. Jean d'Acre, the ancient Ptolemais of Syria, is represented by Le Brun (*Voyage au Levant*, pl. 164, p. 313); and is also mentioned by Pococke in his *Description of the East* (vol. II. part 1, p. 53). The building is decidedly in the Gothic manner, and is doubtless a work of the European Christians, Acre being held by the Crusaders for a considerable time after the establishment of that kind of architecture in England; as was also Cyprus, where several Gothic buildings are noticed by Pococke (*Ibid.* pp. 215. 216); and one in that island is represented by Cassas (*Voyage Pittoresque de la Syrie*, vol. III. pl. 104). Other Gothic structures in Egypt and Syria are mentioned by Pococke (*Ibid.* vol. I. p. 75; vol. II. pt. 1, pp. 4. 101. 222).

A singular instance of architecture in a villa called the Torre Zizza, in Sicily, is given as Saracenic by Swinburne (*Travels in the Two Sicilies*, vol. III. p. 336—8, edit. 1790). This building has sharp arched apertures, surmounted by point arched mouldings: the battlements are decorated with letters hitherto unexplained, but supposed to be Arabian. If the letters are really Arabian, there can be little doubt of this being a Saracenic work. Where authors have asserted that nothing like Gothic architecture is to be found in Saracenic buildings, I conclude their meaning to be, that no pointed arch vaulting appears in those structures; for pointed arch apertures occur in the old Saracenic buildings of Egypt, and other places (*Mayer's Views in Egypt*, pl. 1, p. 12—pl. 16, p. 35—pl. 26, p. 47—pl. 30, p. 49: also *Views in the Ottoman Empire*, pl. 20, p. 22); and in still greater number among the buildings of Persia, according to Le Brun's representations (*Voyage en Perse*, &c).

II. *A Description of a Mitre and Crosier, part of the ancient Pontificalia of the See of Limerick. By the Rev. John Milner, D.D. F.A.S. in a Letter to Nicholas Carlisle, Esq. Secretary.*

Read 4th May, 1809.

SIR,

Wolverhampton, 23d March, 1809.

IN a tour, which I made last autumn through part of the west of Ireland, I met with certain articles of antiquity, in the possession of a friend of mine at Limerick, which, I am of opinion, the Society will think curious. I shall therefore proceed here to give an account of them. They consist of the most important part of the ancient *Pontificalia* of the See of Limerick; namely, of the best or *precious*^a Mitre, and of what, no doubt, was the best crosier belonging to it; being each of them exquisitely rich and beautiful; as likewise, of the Episcopal Register, from the middle of the twelfth, down to the middle of the fifteenth, century. All these articles are in high preservation.

The body of the mitre, both before and behind, consists of thin silver laminæ gilt, and adorned with flowers, composed of an infinite number of small pearls. The borders, and ornamental pannel or style down the middle, on both sides, is of the same substance, but thicker, being worked into mouldings, vine leaves, &c. and enriched with enchased crystals, pearls, garnets, emeralds, amethysts, and other precious stones, several of which are of a very large size. Near the *Apex*, or point of the Mitre, in front, is the following inscription, disposed in the form of a cross, and covered with a crystal of the

^a The *Cæremoniale Episcoporum* directs that every Bishop shall have three mitres; of which; “*Una pretiosa dicitur, quia gemmis & lapidibus pretiosis, vel laminis aureis vel argenteis contexta esse solet; altera auriphrygiata, sine gemmis, & sine laminis aureis vel argenteis; sed vel aliquibus parvis margaritis composita, vel ex serico albo intermixto, vel ex telâ aureâ simplici, sine laminis vel margaritis; tertia quæ simplex vocatur, sine auro ex simplici serico Damasceno, vel alio, aut etiam linea, ex telâ albâ confecta, rubeis lacinis, seu frangiis & vittis pendentibus.*” *Cæremon. Lib. I. c. 17.*

same shape: "*Hoc signum crucis erit in cælo.*" In a corresponding situation, on the other side of the mitre, is the continuation of the inscription, under a similar crystal: "*Cum Dominus ad judicandum venerit.*" An authentic record concerning the date, and the original proprietor of this curious piece of antiquity, is beautifully enamelled round the bottom part of it, of which the following is a copy: "*Cornelius O Deagh, Epus Limericensis Anno Domini Mille. CCCCXVIII me fieri fecit.*" The *Redimicula*, or pendant ornaments, to hang down the back of the Bishop, being altogether twenty-one inches long, have, by some accident, been detached from the mitre. These likewise consist, in general, of silver plate, gilt, and ornamented with innumerable small pearls, disposed in the form of leaves, and flowers. On the lower part of them are embossed elegant niches, or tabernacles, containing figures. One of these represents the angel Gabriel, with the usual label; the other, the Blessed Virgin. They terminate in a rich gold fringe.

The Crosier consists of massive silver, gilt, being seven feet long, and of the weight of about ten pounds. The whole exterior part of the curve is surrounded with a wreath of vine leaves, highly finished; and the flat part of the curve, on each side, is ornamented with large pearls elegantly set, to the number of twelve on a side. Within the curve, in the open part, are cast silver figures of the Blessed Virgin seated, with the mystical dove, suspended by a wire, over her head, and of the angel Gabriel, in a kneeling attitude. Between the figures is seen the allegorical lily, growing out of a ewer. The curve itself is supported by the emblematic figure of a Pelican, with its wings expanded, and feeding its young with its blood. At a suitable distance, below the curve, are six female figures, under canopies, in enamelled work. Amongst these I distinguished the attributes of St. Bridget of Kildare, St. Catharine, St. Barbara, and St. Margaret. Beneath these, and forming the boss of the crosier, are six elegant cast statues of silver, each of them being two inches and a half high, representing the B. Trinity, St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Patrick, St. Munchin, who was the Patron Saint of Limerick, and the Blessed Virgin. They stand upon corbels, or trusses, in appropriate niches, adorned with spire

work in the richest and most elegant style of pointed architecture. Under the boss is a wreath of enamelling, containing the name, title, &c. of the aforesaid Cornelius O'Deagh. The upper part of the shaft is studded with precious stones, and enamelling, containing the monogram of JESUS, IHS, in the characters of the age. The several joints are ornamented with crowns, as the intervening spaces are with engraved flourishing. The whole terminates, at the bottom, in a sharp iron ferula, agreeably to one of the intended uses of the crosier, as explained by an ancient poet:^b

“Curva trahit mites, pars pungit acuta rebelles.”

Upon the whole, Sir, I cannot think that the crosier of Cornelius O'Deagh is inferior, either in taste and elegance, or in richness, to the celebrated one of his contemporary prelate, William of Wykeham, which is kept with so much care at New College, Oxford.^c But what will appear equally extraordinary with the existence of such monuments of ancient art in Ireland, is the strong presumption, which they afford from the name of the artist, that they were executed in that Island, at the beginning of the fifteenth century; as the following enamelled inscription is seen, in a small compartment, on the mitre: “*Thomas O'Carty, Artifex faciēm, (faciebam).*”

N. B. The back of the mitre is exhibited to shew in what manner the *Vittæ* or *infulæ*, that is to say, the pendent ornaments are annexed to it. In other respects the back of the mitre is an exact counterpart of the front, except as to the enamelled inscription. The word lost in the inscription must, from the known date of O'Deagh's Pontificate, have expressed either 400 or 410. The stones, which are all precious stones, are drawn to the size, shape, and colour of the originals. The unequal white substances represent incrustations of pearls. The *infulæ*, or pendent ornaments, are exhibited on the large sheet of the size of the original. They, like the mitre itself, consist of

^b Hugo de Sancto Victore, Scriptor 12ⁱ Sec. In Speculo Eccles.

^c I herewith present the Society with pencilled sketches of the Mitre and Crosier, drawn by my friend and fellow traveller, Thomas Weld, Esq. of Lulworth Castle, Dorsetshire.

thin silver plate gilt, and ornamented with pearls, &c. except the fringe at the bottom, which is such delicate gold lacework as to have baffled the art of the draughtsman in his attempt to exhibit it.

The Register, in the possession of my friend, is entitled by Sir James Ware, the famous Irish Antiquary, who cites it in his *Antiquities of Ireland*,^d “*Registrum Decani Limericensis*.” This testimony is copied in a manuscript note in the book itself. The register contains, amongst other things, a charter of Donald, King of Limerick, to Briccius, Bishop of that See in 1194; likewise, a curious inquisition, concerning the lands and churches belonging to it, taken soon after the conquest of this part of Ireland by the English, on the oaths of three separate juries, one consisting of twelve Englishmen, another of twelve Irishmen, and the third of twelve Ostmen, or Danes. The last date in the Register itself, being that of the indenture of a lease, made by the Bishop, to Robert Fitz-Stephens, is of 1362; but there is, annexed to the Register, the *Taxa Ordinaria* of the Bishop of Limerick, certified to be in the hand writing of the above mentioned Bishop, Cornelius O’Deagh, who, as is gathered from the date of his Mitre, presided there in the year 1418. As the above mentioned ornaments, I mean the Mitre and the Crosier, are so often seen in the statues, bas-reliefs, pictures, and illuminations of former times, perhaps the following short remarks upon them, for ascertaining the personages represented, together with their rank, and the period of their existence, may not be here misplaced.

Eusebius, the celebrated Church historian, and friend of Constantine the Great, tells us, upon the authority of Polycrates, who lived near the time of the Apostles, that St. John, the Evangelist, wore a metal plate,^e like that which the Jewish High Priest bore upon his forehead. The same is affirmed of St. James the Apostle, Bishop of

^d See Walter Harris’s translation of Ware’s *Antiquities*, in folio, p. 133.

^e Πέταλον, Euseb. Hist. Eccles. L. V. c. 24. We learn from Origen, Hom. IX. in Exod. that this was the Greek name of the golden plate worn on the forehead by the Jewish High Priest.

Jerusalem, by St. Epiphanius.^f The same Eusebius,^g as likewise St. Gregory Nazianzen,^h and the Pagan historian, Ammianusⁱ Marcellinus, describe the Bishops of the fourth century, as wearing a sort of crown. It appears from different authorities, that the Bishops, of the Latin Church at least, wore some peculiar ornament upon their heads, in the succeeding ages; but there is reason to doubt whether this ornament bore any resemblance with the open double pointed mitre, before the ninth or the tenth century. This form, together with its appropriate ornaments, was probably first adopted, and appropriated to themselves, in one or other of those ages by the Roman Pontiffs; as in the eleventh century, we find more than one instance of the Pope's granting a special privilege to certain Bishops to wear the *Roman Mitre*,^k and as in the twelfth century, we read of Innocent II. placing his own mitre on the head of St. Malachy, Archbishop of Armagh, then upon a visit to Rome, by way of a special favour.^l Still even the mitres in question, at their first invention, were very low, being not loftier than from three to six inches, and they continued comparatively low till about the end of the thirteenth century, as we may observe in the figure of St. Nicholas, on the Saxon Font in Winchester Cathedral,^m in the sepulchral statues of the Bishops of Old Sarum, since removed to Salisbury Cathedral; and in the statues, and other representations of Prelates, in general, during the ages in question. During the fourteenth century, the mitres seem to have risen to about the height of a foot. That of William of Wykeham, upon his monument, which is said to have been executed in his lifetime, is ten inches high; the Bishop of Limerick's, thirteen. It was not till about the sixteenth century, that this episcopal ornament attained to its present disproportionate height of a foot and a half.

When the Abbots, and other superiors of certain grand Religious

^f Hæres. 78.

^g Τὸν ὑπάριον τῆς δόξης στέφανον. Hist. Ecc. L. X. c. 4:

^h Orat. V.

ⁱ Lib. 29.

^k Leo IX. granted it to Eberhard, Archbishop of Triers, and Greg. VII. to Anselm Bishop of Lucca, in this century.

^l S. Bernardus in Vita S. Malachiæ Archiep. cap. 16.

^m See an Engraving of it in *Vetusta Monum.* and in *The Hist. of Winchester*, Vol. II.

Communities, grew impatient of subjection to the jurisdiction of their Ordinary Bishops, they eagerly contended for the ensigns of independent authority, namely, for the Pontifical ornaments, which were the mitre, the ring, and the sandals. One of the first, if not quite the first mitred Abbot we read of, was Egelsinus, Abbot of St. Augustine's, at Canterbury. He being at Rome in the year 1063, obtained of Pope Alexander II. the privilege of wearing the Pontifical mitre, ring, and sandals;ⁿ which privilege is stated to have been granted in honour of the said St. Augustine, Apostle of England.^o This Abbot, however, being obliged soon after to leave his country and fly into Denmark, in order to avoid the indignation of the Norman Conquerors, to whom he had, by some means, given particular offence, the privilege in question was suspended till it was renewed by Alexander III, in 1179, at the instance of Abbot Roger.^p By this time many other Abbots had obtained this mark of dignity, and even regular conventual Priors began to solicit it.^q The frequency of these grants becoming a subject of complaint to the Bishops, Clement IV, in the year 1267, made a decree, still extant in the Canon law, restraining mitred Abbots, who were exempt from Episcopal jurisdiction, to the use of the *fringed* or second order of mitre on public occasions, and non-exempt Abbots and Priors to the *simple* or third order of that ornament.^r I must observe, however, that it would not be safe to depend absolutely on this decree, regarding the quality of the mitre, in pronouncing upon the rank of any personage represented in one: but the other rule, concerning the height of the mitre, may be considered as infallible, as to the period in which such person lived. It must also be remarked, that none of the Greek Prelates, of whatever rank or country, except the Patriarch of Alexandria,^s ever adopted the Latin mitre. Accordingly they are usually represented bare-headed. This rule, however, does not extend to the Latin Prelates of

ⁿ Chronica W. Thorn ad An. 1059. . Apud Twysden, p. 1785.

^o Ibid.

^p Ymagines Historiarum. Aut. Radulfo de Diceto ad An. 1179. Twysden, p. 602.

^q Annales, Winton. ad An. 1254. Angl. Sac. Vol. I.

^r Clem. IV. Sexti Decretal. Lib. V. Tit. 7.

^s Simeon Thessalon. apud Du Cange.

the Greek Churches, after the first crusade, nor to the representations of Greek Prelates, executed by Latin artists.

The *Crosier*, called by different ancient writers, *Baculus Pastoralis*, *Ferula*, *Pedum*, *Cambuta*, &c. is mentioned as an Episcopal ornament in the Sacramentary of St. Gregory the Great, who flourished at the end of the sixth century, and by his contemporary St. Isidore of Seville.[†] The use of it, however, is traced much higher, namely, to St. Remigius, who governed the See of Rheims at the end of the fifth century, and who bequeathed by his will, to one of his friends, amongst other things; *Cambutam argenteam figuratam*.[‡] Nor does there seem any just reason to doubt, of what we are assured by so many writers, that, in the early part of the same century, St. Patrick took with him to Ireland, when he went to preach the Gospel there, the Pastoral Staff, which afterwards became so famous under the name of the *Staff of Jesus*.[§] The Irish, who were accused by the peevish Giraldus Cambrensis, of venerating the Crosiers of their ancient Saints, more than the books of the Gospel,[¶] certainly held this staff of their Apostle in such high veneration, that they conceived the possession of it gave a sort of title to the See of Armagh, and the Primacy of Ireland.[‡] Hence their English conquerors, in the twelfth century, took special care to convey this important article to Dublin, within their own pale.[§] That our Saxon Bishops and Abbots used the Pastoral Staff is plain from many circumstances. It had been the custom, long before the reign of Edward the Confessor, for the investiture of Episcopal Sees and Abbeys, to be granted by the delivery of this emblem.[¶] Hence when St. Wulstan, Bishop of Worcester, was required by Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, in a synod, held at Westminster, to surrender his crosier, as a mark of his resigning his see, he went and placed it on the tomb of the said St. Edward, saying, that

[†] De Offic. Lib. II. c. 5.

[‡] Apud Flodoardum.

[§] Jocelin in Vita S. Patric. c. 24.

[¶] Topograph. Hiberniæ. Distinctio III. c. 32.

[‡] S. Bernard. in Vita Malach.

[§] "Nostris temporibus & nostrorum operâ nobilis thesaurus (baculus Jesu).

"Armachiâ Dubliniam est translatus." Girald. Dist. III. c. 34.

[¶] Ingulphi Hist. p. 896.

he would return it to the person from whom he had received it.^c It is recorded of one of our Prelates, Ulf, Bishop of Dorchester, that being present at the synod of Verceil, held by Leo IX, in 1050, he had great difficulty to prevent his *Pastoral Staff* from being broken, as he was proved to be ignorant of the duties of a Bishop.^d It was, at one time, the custom to degrade Episcopal impostors, by breaking their staffs upon their heads.^e

The most ancient crosiers appear to have been much shorter than those of succeeding ages. That of St. Severinus, Bishop of Cologne, who died in the year 400, served him as a walking stick.^f That of St. Bernard, the famous Abbot of Clairvaux, in the twelfth century, which was preserved till the late Revolution, in the monastery of Afflingham, near Bruxells, was not much longer. It is, however, to be observed, that this Saint was a great enemy to every thing which had the appearance of pomp or magnificence, particularly in monasteries, and was very violent against the use of the mitre by Abbots, which began to prevail in his time. It is equally certain that the crosiers were anciently much more simple in their construction than they were latterly. They either resembled a plain shepherd's crook, or, at most, consisted of a volute, like that in an Ionic capital. It is true, however, that these curves, if not the whole staff, were frequently ornamented with ivory, or the precious metals.^g The length and the form of those in question may be judged of by the abovementioned bas-reliefs and statues, and by all others of the same dates. Like the Mitres, the Crosiers grew taller and more ornamented after the twelfth century, till the latter attained to their *ne plus ultra* of magnificence and elegance in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as those of William of Wykeham and of Cornelius O'Deagh demonstrate. It is agreed that the Abbots, and other superiors of monasteries, did not borrow the use of

^c Ailred Rieval de Vita, &c. S. Edw. L. II. c. 5.

^d Hen. Huntingdon. Hist. L. VI.

^e "Baculis super eorum capita confractis." In actis S. Theodardi Narbonensis Episcopi, Sec. 9^o.

^f Greg. Turon. L. I. de Mir. S. Martini.

^g "Baculos Sanctorum in superiore parte recurvos, auro et argento vel ære contextos in magnâ reverentiâ habent." Girald. ut supra. Vide. etiam Testamentum S. Remigii.

the Pastoral staff, like that of the mitre, from the Bishops, but that they were in the possession of it in every age since the institution of their profession, and in every country; this being the chief ensign of their pastoral office, and the mark of their power. Though there was no law to restrain them from vieing with the Bishops in the magnificence of their crosiers, (as was the case with respect to their mitres) yet there was a rule which required them to hang a *sudarium*, or veil, to their staffs, by way of token that their authority was of a secret and subordinate nature.^b This token, however, was generally laid aside by the Abbots of Exempt Abbeys: but it is always seen attached to the crosiers of Abbesses, from which it hangs floating, like an ornamented flag. Another distinction between the crosiers of Bishops and monastic superiors, which I presume is observed by artists in general, regards the manner of holding them. The Bishop is directed to turn the crook of his crosier as he holds it in his left hand forward toward the people,^c to signify that his jurisdiction extends over them; whereas the Abbot ought to turn his *backward*, towards himself, to indicate that his authority only regards himself and his private community. Few antiquaries are supposed to be ignorant that the Pastoral staff of an Archbishop is not a hooked crosier, but a processional cross. A Patriarch, or Primate, has two transverse bars upon it; the Pope has three. The carrying of such a cross before a Metropolitan in any place, was a mark that he claimed jurisdiction there.^k Hence, when Geoffry Plantagenet, Archbishop of York, and brother of Richard I, found that he could not be allowed to have his Pastoral Cross carried before him at the second solemn coronation of that Monarch, which took place in 1194, at Winchester, in the province of Canterbury, he became indignant, and refused to assist at the ceremony.^l I have only to add, that both the mitre and the crosier appear upon the monuments of many modern Bishops of the Established Church since the Reformation, and, among others; upon that

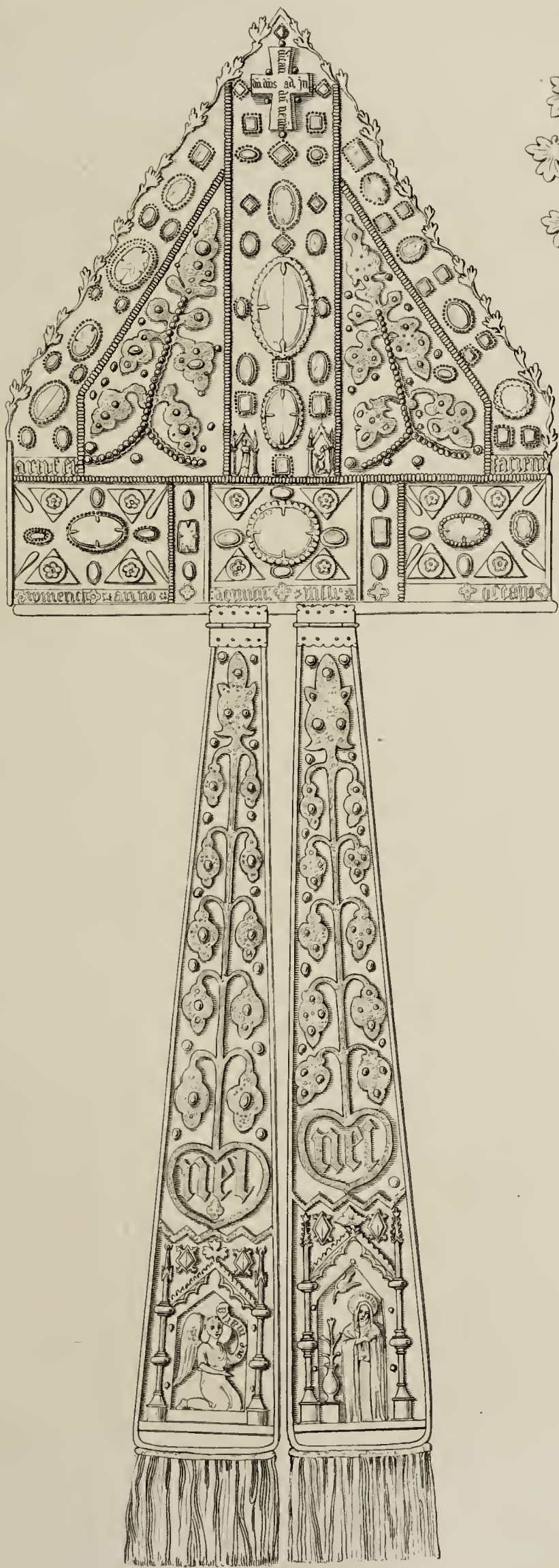
^b Acta Mediol. Eccl. apud Gavant. Comment in Rub. p. 96. Item. Molanus. Hist. 3. Imag. L. IV. c. 29.

^c Cæremoniale Episc. L. II. c. 8.

^k Cæremon. Epis. L. I. c. 17.

^l Rogerii de Hoveden. Annal Pars Poster. Hist.

Winch. Vol. I.



of Bishop Hoadley, in Winchester Cathedral, and that real mitres and crosiers of gilt metal are suspended over the remains of Bishop Morley, who died in 1684; and of Bishop Mews, who died in 1706. I must not, however, forget what I have learnt from the present Earl Marshal, that the mitre, which, at the present day, is barely seen on the carriages of English and Irish Bishops, is actually worn by them in the ceremony of a coronation, at which they assist.

JOHN MILNER, D. D.

III. *Observations on Vaults. By Samuel Ware, Esq. Communicated by Sir Henry Charles Englefield, Bart. to the Secretary, Nicholas Carlisle, Esq.*

Read 5th March, 1812.

INTRODUCTION.

AN inquiry into the different forms of Vaults, and a comparison of their respective merits, by rendering them more familiar to the Architect, may lead to the substitution of them for wooden floors and roofs in many cases, where, in respect of their superior security and durability, and, it may be added, beauty, they would be peculiarly desirable. The changes, which have taken place at certain periods in the forms of Vaults, will in some measure account for the alterations in the styles of architecture, which have characterised different ages; and their genesis will exhibit, perhaps, the most comprehensive and curious examples of the application of geometry.

Vaults which rise from walls are of a simple character; those which rise from piers and pillars are more complex.

Vaults rising from walls are of two kinds. The one, by which the space covered is partly enclosed; as in cylindrical and cylindroidal vaulting. The other, whereby the whole space covered is enclosed, as in pyramidal, conical, and domical Vaults.

Vaults, springing from pillars or piers, are of five different kinds, and the space covered may be open on all the sides. As, 1st, Groined Vaults; 2nd, Pendent Vaults; 3rd, Groined Rib Vaults; 4th, Rib Vaults by ribs of the same curvature; and 5th, Rib pendent Vaults.

Fig. 1, Cylindrical. Fig. 2, Pyramidal. Fig. 3, Conical. Fig. 4, 15, 16, and 17, Domical Vaults. Fig. 5 and 6, Groined Vaults. Fig. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14, Pendent Vaults. Fig. 18 and 19,

Groined Rib Vaults. Fig. 20, 21, and 22, Rib Vaults by Ribs of the same curvature. Fig. 23 and 24, Pendent Rib Vaults.

Each class of vaulting will admit of infinite variety, according to the curve by which the Vault may be generated.

The generation of cylindrical and cylindroidal, domical by hemispheres, or hemispheroids, pyramidal and conical Vaults, is obvious.

Groined Vaults are generated by the crossing of cylindrical or cylindroidal Vaults of the same height. The lines of intersection are called Groins, and are curves elongated from the curve of the crossing Vaults, in proportion to the diagonals of the plan over which they are vertical. A groined Vault may also be conceived to be composed of parts of a concave pyramid inverted, Fig. 5 and 6. The forms of pendent Vaults are generated by cylindrical or cylindroidal Vaults crossing other Vaults of greater height, or by plain (Fig. 14) cylindrical or cylindroidal (Fig. 13) surfaces cutting Vaults vertically. The lines of intersection are termed Welch Groins, round which, in practice, are constructed what are termed Welch Arches: upon these arches the superior parts of the Vaults are supported. The principle is applicable to all forms of Vaults, simple or complex, plain or ribbed, Fig. 7, 12, 13, &c.

The angles of a dome, being a convex pyramidal Vault (Fig. 16), are similar to the groins of a groined Vault; or the Vault may be considered to be composed of as many similar and equal triangular pieces of a cylindrical or cylindroidal Vault, as there are sides in the polygon, Fig. 15, 16, 17, &c.

The simplest rib Vault is that which is called *Arc Doubleau*; by which is understood a Vault where at certain intervals a concentric Arch is supposed, or the Vault itself at certain places is of double or greater thickness than at others.

The forms of ribs in groined rib Vaults, Fig. 18 and 19, are generated from the curves over the sides of the plan of the space to be covered. As many radii, as there are to be ribs, are to be drawn, from the angles of the plan, until they mutually intersect. The curvature of each rib will be an elongation of the given semi-curve, in proportion

to the intersected radius over which it is to be vertical (Fig. 18 and 19).

The forms of rib Vaults by ribs of the same curvature are composed of parts of an inverted conoid. The ribs are either continued in these forms until they intersect each other (Fig. 20); or are intersected wholly, or in part, by a polygon with sides curving inwards with the curvature of the base of the inverted figure, and performing the office of a key-stone. This polygon, or key of the vault, is generally composed of many stones posited domewise (Fig. 21 and 22).

Pendent rib Vaults are generated similarly to pendent Vaults. The varieties arise from the curvature of the Vault, and also from the positing of the ribs (Fig. 23 and 24).

The Romans used cylindrical, cylindroidal, groined, and domical Vaults. The Eastern Empire adopted pendent Vaults of hemispheres, crossed by cylindrical or cylindroidal Vaults, together with the Vaults previously in general use with the Romans. The Architects of the middle ages have vaulted their buildings successively with cylindrical, cylindroidal, groined, and domical Vaults; with groined rib Vaults, Vaults of ribs of the same curvature, and rib pendent Vaults. And in their spires they have used pyramidal and convex pyramidal Vaults. The moderns have imitated the Vaults constructed both in the Western and Eastern Empire of the Romans, adopting improvements suggested from the superior practice of the middle ages.

OF CYLINDRICAL VAULTS.

THE most extraordinary cylindrical Vaults will be found in bridges. Augustus Cæsar built one over the river Nera, which is now destroyed; it joined two hills on the road from Rome to Loretto, and consisted of four arches; it was as remarkable for the width of its arches, as for its height, affording a level road from the top of one hill to the other. Of the mode of the construction of the wonderful bridge built over the Danube by Trajan, and described by Dion Cassius,

some doubt has arisen, from an observation of Montfaucon, from the supposed representation of it on the Trajan Column, by which it would appear to have been of wood. Gibbon, from the authority of Reimar ad Dion from Marsigli, Vol. V. p. 273, is of that opinion. On a medal struck by Constantine (Oisel Num. Sel. xxiv. 4) the bridge is represented of stone.

The stone bridge^c over the Tagus at Alcantara, built by that Emperor, in some measure confirms the account of Dion Cassius, as it is in size not much inferior.

The ancient bridge^d of Brioude, over the river Allier, in the department of the Upper Loire, of one arch, exceeds any Vault of ancient or modern construction in the length of its chord.

The great arch^e of the Ponte del Castel Vecchio, over the Adige at Verona, built in the year 1354; that of Gignac, over the Herault, finished in 1793 by M. Garipuy; that of Claix, erected 1611 over the Drac, on which was inscribed "Romanos moles pudore suffundo;" that of Lavaur, upon the Agout, erected 1775; and that of Vizile, over the Romanche, erected by M. Bouchet, are much celebrated.

The arch^f of the Rialto, by Michael Angelo, and the middle arch of Blackfriars, are exceeded by the elliptical arch^g erected by the Scotch mason over the Liffy near Dublin; by that at Warwick erected by the Warwick mason, or by that of the Yorkshire one at Winston; or by that erected for the late Duke of Devonshire at Lismore in Ireland; but still more so, by the Pont-y-ty-Prydd^h over the Taff in Glamorganshire, built by the Welch mason Edwards; this arch, from its size and elevation above the adjoining trees, is compared to a rainbow; and we may add, in the words of the son of Sirach, "the hands of a skilful artist have bended it." This arch approaches very nearly in hardness of construction to that of Brioude.

The bridgeⁱ of Santa Trinita, over the Arno, affords perhaps the most scientific example of vaulting in Europe, and is not less an object of beauty. Drummond states, that the curves of the arches are cycloids.

The Vaults of ancient and modern construction are excelled beyond any comparison, by the extraordinary productions of Perronet

the French architect. The form of the arches of the bridge of Neuilly,^k built by him, is a false ellipse. The upper part of the arch was formed of an arc of a circle 320 feet diameter. During the construction it sunk or flattened, so that it became an arc of a circle, whose diameter would be 518 feet; whence it is manifest that an arch might be built of stone 518 feet on the chord line; and the flying bridge of China, which the Jesuits state to be built over a river from one mountain to another, having one arch 500 cubits high and 400 cubits long may exist. The size of the piers, which supported this extraordinary production of Perronet, are only 14 feet wide; the lateral pressure being wholly communicated to the abutments. The astonishment which this work inspires in the mind of an architect at all acquainted with the difficulties in the construction of such buildings, renders him unfit to praise or condemn.

It is impossible here not to call to the recollection of the enlightened Antiquary, that unknown but wonderful arch, above the vaulting and between the towers of Lincoln Cathedral;^l although the radius of curvature is less than one-half of that of the bridge of Neuilly, yet its extreme tenuity renders it a subject equally worthy of investigation, and suggests that the voussoirs of arches, with proper abutments, may be reduced in length, as much as the experiment of Neuilly suggests that their chords may be increased.

The vaulting of the nave and transepts of St. Peter's^m at Rome is cylindrical (Fig. 1). Michael Angelo is justly condemned for neither imitating the vaults of the Temple of Peaceⁿ (Fig. 5), nor the eastern way of vaulting by hemispheres (Fig. 7). The dull uniform vaulting of St. Peter's cannot vie with the magic crossings of vaults and domes at St. Paul's^o (Fig. 10 and 11). Torregiano would have compensated the blow which flattened the nose of Michael Angelo, had he on his return to Italy instructed him in the principles of the vaulting of the contemporary Chapel of Cambridge^p (Fig. 22). It was the bold conception of Bramante to raise the Pantheon^r (Fig. 4) upon the arches of the Temple of Peace (Fig. 5), and the glory of Michael Angelo to realize the grandeur of the idea. Bramante announced the intention of imitating, in the naves of St. Peter's, the vaulting of the Temple of

Peace. But Michael Angelo was more fortunate in a Giacomo della Porta, than Bramante in a Michael Angelo. Carlo Maderno, after changing the Greek into the Latin cross, need not have been so scrupulous in the detail. He might have recurred to Bramante's intentions with honour; and a discordance of parts would have harmonized with the discordance of plan and outline which he had produced.

The Vault of the most entire Temple of Balbec,^s in Cœlosyria, as supposed to have existed by Mr. Wood, must have exhibited one of the most sublime examples of architecture which the Romans could boast. The vault is cylindrical, with arcs doubleaux on entablatures, which profile round on engaged columns. The continued bowing line, and bold relief of the engaged column, entablature, and arc doubleau of this enormous Vault, may be contrasted with the insipid flat pannelling and pilasters of St. Peter's; while the mild and amiable piety of its founder, the idolator Antoninus, is an antithesis to that of the Christian and most holy father, Giulio the Second.^t

NOTES.

^a The chord of the great arch of the bridge built by Augustus Cæsar was 135 feet in length.

^b The chords of the arches of the bridge built over the Danube by Trajan were 170 feet each; the height of the bridge 150 feet.

^c The chord of the middle arch of the stone bridge built by Trajan over the Tagus at Alcantara is 140 feet in length, and the height of the bridge is 200 feet.

^d The chord of the bridge of Brioude over the river Allier is 181 feet in length.

^e The chords of the arches of the Ponte del Castel Vecchio, of Gignac, and Lavaur, are 160 feet in length, of Claix 150, of Vizile 147.

^f The chord of the arch of the bridge of the Rialto at Venice is 96 feet in length; and that of the middle arch of Blackfriars' Bridge, London, is 100 feet.

^g The transverse diameter of the bridge over the Liffy, near Dublin, is 108 feet in length, and the semi-conjugate only 22 feet. The chord of the arch of the bridge at Warwick is 104 feet; at Winston 109 feet; of Lismore 100 feet.

^h The chord of the arch of the Pont-y-ty-Prydd is 140 feet: the arch is an arc of a circle whose diameter would be 175 feet.

ⁱ The transverse diameter of the middle arch of the bridge of Santa Trinita at Florence is 73 feet, the semi-conjugate 15 feet. The arches are said to be cycloidal.

^k The transverse diameter of each of the five arches of the bridge of Neuilly is 128 feet.

^l The horizontal extrados of the arch between the towers of Lincoln Cathedral is 28 feet in length, 11 inches thick in the middle, 20 inches thick at one extremity, and 28 inches at the other. The extrados is about 15 inches wide; it resembles a wooden beam rather than a stone arch composed of voussoirs.

	Feet wide.	Feet high.
^m The Vaults of the nave and transepts of St. Peter's at Rome are..	85 ..	157
ⁿ The Vault of the Temple of Peace at Rome.	83 .	121
^o The vaults of the nave and transepts of St. Paul's at London	41 ..	84
^p The Vaulting of the Chapel of Henry VI. at Cambridge	39 ..	81
^r The diameter of the domical Vault of the Pantheon at Rome	142 ..	143
^s The Vault of the most entire Temple at Balbec	63 ..	93

^t It was a facetious act of the Duke of Ferrara to convert the bronze Statue of this Pope, cast by Michael Angelo, into a piece of artillery, which he called Giulio.

OF GROINED VAULTS.

THE stupendous vaulting of the Temple of Peace^a at Rome was a groined vault, (Fig. 5.) In the construction of this Vault the Romans shewed a knowledge which would have been admired in the latter part of the middle ages, and the idiot Emperor Claudius a discrimination in the choice of his architect not inferior to the inspired selection of Giulio the Second, and Paolo the Third; and however celebrated may have been the temple of Jerusalem rebuilt^b by Herod, the building of which is said to have deprived the earth of rain in the day time for a year and a half; the golden candlestick, the table of shew-bread, the altar of perfumes, and the volume of the law in golden tissue, the booty of Titus, could not be degraded by the meanness of their new habitation.

The vaulting of the great hall at the Baths of Diocletian^c is of the same character, and equally deserving of respect, as that of the Temple of Peace.

It was the practice of the Free Masons, to whom we are indebted for the Vaults, which secure our cathedrals, to reduce all the pressures in a building, whether vertical or lateral, to certain principal supports; their Vaults were composed, “*ex lapide et topho*,” of ribs and pannels; the one of good freestone, the other of light sand-stone, or chalk; their supports were piers and columns, and a wall with them was held to be merely an enclosure. The objection to this principle, “that stone would crush, when subjected to the pressure of great weights reduced to a small surface,” may be answered by a reference to the columns in Gothic Cathedrals.

M. Gauthey, in the fourth volume of “*Rosier’s Journal de Physique*,” speaks of a column in All Saints, Angers, twenty-four feet high, eleven inches square, which sustains 60,000 pounds. He says this is only one-seventh of what would crush it. There is a column in the morning prayer chapel at Lincoln Cathedral equally thin in comparison to its height. This column stands insulated in the centre of the

chapel, so that it sustains eight-twentieths of the whole vaulting which covers the chapel. The columns which support the roof of the galleries of the Patio de los Leones, of the Alhambra in Granada, are nearly as thin in proportion to their height. A pillar, twenty-six times its diameter in height, would have been to the Ephesians as Pascal styles the Jews, a continue miracle. It would be pleasant to listen to a dialogue between the shades of the architect of the Hexastyle Ipetral Temple at Pæstum, and the architects of All Saints of Angers, or Lincoln Cathedral. We must say of the former "*proffessus grandia turgent.*"

At the revival of Roman architecture the adage "*Pondus addit robur,*" became proverbial. The different interpretations exemplified in the buildings of different ages are amusing. In the groined Vault we may perceive the origin of all the improvements which the Free Masons made in the art of vaulting.

The Romans, in their bridges, endeavoured to reduce the size of the piers of their bridges, and to render the Vaults of their arches more nearly in equilibration, than the line of road would generally permit, by means which, in some measure, surprise us by their clumsiness, when the more elegant mode by groined vaulting had been discovered. The practice to reduce the size of the piers was by constructing small arches in the piers themselves, above that part of the pier where adequate resistance had been obtained for the lateral thrust of the arch; as may be seen in the Pont du Saint Esprit over the Rhone, in Languedoc, at the bridge of Merida, in Spain, and Ponte Fabrizio, at Rome. A similar mode was adopted at the Ponte Senatorio, now Ponte Rotto, by Pope Gregory the XIIth. This method had also the additional advantage of affording more water-way. Tunnels have been sometimes worked in the piers with the same view, as in Ponte Sisto, built by Pope Sextus the IVth, upon the site of the ancient bridge of Janiculense, and as at the Pont de Toulouse, in France, and at the bridge of Glasgow, over the Clyde. Peronet, the French architect, not only formed tunnels in the piers, but also over the haunches. The Welch mason Edwards, in the wonderful bridge over the Taff, in Glamorganshire, learnt, from experience, what Per-

ronet's theory had taught him. Over each haunch of the arch of the Pont y ty Prydd, there are three tunnels in the reins of the arch. The mode recommended to be adopted at Blackfriars' Bridge, by Dr. Stukely, Phil. Trans. June, 1760, and which had been adopted in consequence of the sinking of one of the piers of Westminster Bridge, is very ingenious, and appears particularly applicable, in many cases, where circumstances require a number of small arches.

Perronet, in the Bridge of Saint Maxence, on the river Oise, adopted another mode of reducing the size of the piers, which was by supporting his arches on columns instead of single piers; so that there are openings longitudinally through the bridge, by which the size of the supports are reduced by a mass of material equal to the intercolumniations. The parts of the arches over the intercolumniations are supported by arches something resembling the inverted concave conoidal Vault of King's College Chapel, Cambridge, piercing the great arches, but the weight, nevertheless, is spread on the whole surface of what would have been the base of the pier. This method may be considered as an introduction to groined Vaults in the arches of bridges; a practice which would be more securely followed by adopting the Gothic manner of arcs doubleaux: the theorist will perceive, in such a practice, a greater approximation to equilibration than by any other method; and the practical builder will in the precautions necessary to obtain adequate abutments to the arches piercing the great arches, give to the cutwaters a duty which will equalize their pressure to that of the other parts of the pier. Timidity, and the want of a full precedent, rather than any reasonable objection, has prevented those improvements which Perronet's plan has a tendency to produce.—The Baths of Caracalla and Dioclesian exhibit groined Vaults nearly as large as the centre arch of Westminster bridge. If these arches are in equilibration, the cohesion from such masses would be more than equivalent to counteract the effects of any imposition arising from traffic.

NOTES.

^a See Jews. Enc. Brit. 23 and 47.

^b The Vault of the Temple of Peace was 83 feet wide, 121 feet high.

^c The vault of the great hall of the Baths of Diocletian was 67 feet wide, 100 feet high.

OF DOMES.

THE Pantheon at Rome^b (Fig. 4.) is a hemispherical Vault. The dome of Saint^b Peter's, and the sub-dome of Saint Paul's,^o are called ellipsoidal, the short axis horizontal.

The domes remarkable from their size erected before the time of Constantine, are those of the Pantheon,^b of Minerva^c Medica, of the baths of Caracalla^d and Diocletian^e at Rome, and of the temples of Mercury,^f Diana,^g Apollo,^h or Proserpine and Venus,ⁱ in the neighbourhood of Pozzuoli.

The architect will doubt whether Michael Angelo has made good his boast, that he would confirm the triumph of modern over ancient architecture. The dome of Saint^k Sophia had existed a thousand years, that of Santa Maria delle Fiore had been just erected, and the builders of the middle ages yet remained to teach the theory of vaulting, and their structures to confirm their precepts. With such assistance we may question the peculiar praise. Was the weight of the Lantern at Saint Peter's miscalculated, or had not the principle of sustaining a weight in the centre of a vault transpired from the mysteries of the Free Masons?

It has been said that the extravagant productions of early times, in a more refined age, are collected by great men, and lead to compositions, in our astonishment at which, we forget for a while, the sources whence they emanate; that Italy exhibits to us, in the progress of architecture during the fifteenth century, the germs of that form, which, in the time of Leo Xth, diminished all other colossal efforts; and if Santa Maria^m delle Fiore at Florence, in the Gothic style, had not been covered by a cupola; if the cupola on pendentifs of Santoⁿ Agostino, of the same architect, had not existed, it is probable that of Saint Peter would have assumed a different appearance; but, in that case, it may be conjectured, that, that appearance might have had more resemblance to the dome of Saint^k Sophia, and the barbarous Turks, in recalling the images of the mosques of Soliman

and Achmet,^a would not have had occasion to ask, "if European architects are able to suspend a dome over an inscribed square?"

On an inspection of the section of the dome of Saint¹ Peter's, as designed by Michael Angelo in the "*Templi Vaticani Historiâ*," it is manifest that it could not sustain the weight of the Lantern. On comparing this section with that in the elaborate work of Castaguti, the dome will be found more elevated; but the mind still remains in doubt. In Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus*, there is another section which is stated to be more correct than any yet published, and, indeed, its appearance supports the assertion; but neither of these exhibits a dome as acutely pointed as that of Santa Maria delle Fiore.

The disastrous effects from the weight of the lantern on the dome of Saint Peter's, notwithstanding the deviation from Michael Angelo's design, so alarmed Sir Christopher Wren, that he was determined neither to trust to science nor to chance; and the cone was chosen, being a form which concentrated the risk in the frangibility of the material; of the ability of which he could obtain proof independent of theory. Sir Christopher Wren had seen an English tile-kiln, and its cylindrical supported shaft. It might have been remembered that the merit did not consist in supporting an immense weight, but in the means. A cone prevented from spreading at the base, will sustain any weight at the vertex; but a given weight, supported by a dome, demands its peculiar curvature; and it is more praise-worthy to have partially failed at Saint Peter's than to have succeeded at St. Paul's.

The original design, of which there is a model in the cathedral, shews what Sir Christopher wished to have performed. It cannot be supposed, that he was over-ruled in regard to the construction of the dome, whatever he might have been in regard to the plan and fashion of the building. The extreme caution which actuated Sir Christopher Wren in the construction of the dome of St. Paul's is apparent in the examination of his work. He has refused to place any reliance on the pendentives, under the excuse of the whispering gallery; although, by the safe preference of an octagon to a square, their projection becomes reduced. The great contreforts, and wooden dome, originated in the same motive. The chain at the base of the cone has been ob-

jected to, as breaking through one of his own maxims; that “the way of tying walls together, instead of making them of that substance and form that they shall naturally poise themselves upon their abutments, is against the rules of good architecture.” James Sansovino had already adopted the expedient of the chain at the cupola of Saint Marc¹ at Venice, where he was employed by the Doge Andre Gritti. Had the upper cone been a continuation of the lower truncated cone, or had a parabolic, catenarian, or other elevated dome, whose tangent at its base should form the same angle as the lower cone, been substituted, the chain then might have been auxiliary, instead of necessary, the lantern supported, and the external elevation produced without the mock dome of carpentry.

In looking over the cupolas erected of artificial stone (*pietra cotta*) and brick, by Palladio, namely, of the church del Redentore, of Saint Giorgio Maggiore, of Zitelle in Venice, we can fancy that Sir Christopher Wren had seen these Vaults; but we cannot but suspect that he had not an opportunity of putting his head between them and the exterior lining of wood, to which the lead is attached. Had this great architect been a timber merchant, the implication would have been on his morality. In a censure of Sir Christopher Wren, it is to be remembered, that he is only paying the tax to the public for being eminent. By the people of Florence the base of the dome of Saint Paul's is said to have been suggested by that of Santa Maria delle Fiore. By the clergymen of Ely, that the plan is a copy of their Cathedral. The octagon base, and the vista of the isles through it, is together an invention not easily allowed even to Sir Christopher Wren.

Mr. Wilkins has conjectured, from a comparison of the Temple of Solomon with those of the early Greeks, particularly with the Temple of Jupiter in the island Ægina, and from the history of the colonization of the islands in the Archipelago, that the Temple of Solomon was a standard by which the proportions of the temples in Greece were regulated; those in later times having varied very little from those of the earliest erection; from the time of Oeacus, the builder of the Temple of Jupiter, to that of Pericles, a period of six centuries. About five centuries previous to Solomon, the Jews made their egress

from Egypt; so that architecture passing through the Egyptians, the Jews, the Phœnicians, and the Greeks, continued nearly in the same state of improvement: certainly it must then have been a great advance in this art by the superstitious notions of position and shape in such buildings, when ceasing to resemble a primitive hut, or a modern barn; the temple of God, like the world, was bounded by a circle, and the roof became a miniature of the heavens. To the cross we are indebted for the grand discovery of imposing a dome on arches. The Egyptians, the Jews, the Phœnicians, and the Greeks, had quadrangular temples. The Romans had both quadrangular and round temples. The miraculous vision of the luminous cross which appeared to Constantine, led him to erect a church in the shape of a cross, by crossing two quadrangular temples; the superstructure of the round temple at the intersection was a necessary consequence. It is natural to the vanity of a new religion to unite in its temples the separate magnificence of the temples of its predecessor. The temples of the Christians, in the shape of a Greek or Roman cross, exhibit, in form and substance, a manifest superiority over those of the Heathens; but it is unfortunate for architecture that the purity of the doctrine taught in the former, did not create an analogous purity of taste. The early Christians were too ready to patch up their structures with the parts of what they despised and destroyed in the bulk.

The dome of Saint^k Sophia, (Fig. 7.) at Constantinople, has been compared with that of Saint^l Peter's. It is always to be recollected that the versed sine of the dome of the former is only one sixteenth of its great chord, and that all its abutments, and extra abutments, are thin, compared with those of Saint Peter's. Sir George Wheeler observes, that Saint Peter's "may excel this cupola in height, but not in breadth nor beauty;" this error of Sir George Wheeler, respecting the breadths of Saint Sophia's and Saint Peter's, confirms the idea generally entertained respecting the effects of the relative proportions of the cupolas. A celebrated mathematician says, "that the cupola of Saint Sophia is offensively flat." He would not say this flatness is offensive to science, nor would he blame the architect who could produce greater effects by less means. M. Le Roi, who had frequently

seen Saint Sophia, and had made drawings of it, observes: “En effet quand on entre dans l'intérieur de Sainte Sophie, on est frappé d'admiration par la beauté de son ensemble.” That there are defects in the detail of its architecture is admitted, the age is an excuse for them.

Neither the great Bruneleschi, the great Michael Angelo, nor the great Wren, sufficiently held in esteem the brick of Calentum, Marseilles, or Asia Pitana, which natant in aqua; the pumice stone of the sixth century, nor the levis tophus of the twelfth.

In the contemplation of buildings which shew their strength by their age, the comparative science displayed may be partly estimated by the inverse ratio of the mass of materials to the space covered. The superficies of the walls of the church of the ²Invalids at Paris, is two-sevenths of the whole site. Of Saint¹ Peter, one-fourth. Of Saint^o Paul's, two-ninths. Of the Pantheon,^b one-fourth. Of the new church of Saint Genevieve,⁵ at Paris, one-seventh. Of Salisbury Cathedral, one-fifth. Of the Chapel of Henry the VIth, at Cambridge, one-fourth. Of Saint^k Sophia, one-eighth. Of the Temple of Peace, one-seventh. Of the Parthenon of the Acropolis, at Athens, two-elevenths.⁶ Such a mode of estimating the merit of a building, renders it, in some measure, independent of taste, whose applause is intermitting. A great building, with few materials besides the periodical approbation it will receive from the eye, will have an uniform superiority by the rule. Mr. Labelye, among the merits of Westminster Bridge, mentions, that it contains nearly double the quantity of stone which is in Saint Paul's Cathedral.

The skilful simplicity of the principle in the construction of the dome of Constantinople, “lightly reposing” on four strong arches, (Fig. 7.) has been fully understood by Sir Christopher Wren, and imitated in the Vaults of the naves and isles of Saint Paul's (Fig. 10 and 11). Professor Robison has very properly recommended these Vaults to the observation of architects. The mode of domical vaulting by pendentives, as practised at Saint Sophia, has been called by Sir Christopher Wren, the Eastern way of vaulting by hemispheres, and attributed to the architects of the Eastern empire. It is ques-

tioned, whether they are entitled to the honour of giving a name to this invention. There are the remains of a Vault in an ancient bath at Catana in Sicily, and in one of the halls of the baths of Caracalla, so constructed. In Class VI. of the Museum Worsleyanum, there are views of the interior and exterior of Saint Sophia; these and a plan will also be found in Grelot.

The side (Fig. 7.) of a square inscribed in a circle whose radius is 1, is 1,4142. The radius of the semi-circular supporting Vault will be ,7071, which, deducted from 1, the radius of the hemi-spherical Vault leaves ,2929, the height of the part of the dome not crossed. $\frac{1,4142}{,2929}$. M. Grelot states the diameter of Saint Sophia to be 18 toises, or 115 feet English, and the versed sine at one-sixth of the diameter; from the foregoing it must be rather more than one-fifth. But when he says, "Il n'est pas permis à un chrétien d'y monter, sil ne veut laisser son prépuce en bas;" we must be grateful for the lengths and breadths he has given.

It must be regretted that there are no satisfactory accounts of the twenty-five churches to Christ, of that to the holy Apostles, and to Saint John, at Ephesus, of this age. It would have been a pleasure to have compared them with the fifty churches built by Sir Christopher Wren, in London, and to have traced the accumulated knowledge from a practice of twelve centuries. The comparison might have confirmed the truth of the record of the inspirations of Justinian.

We are accustomed to repeat with Sir William Temple, that Trajan's Bridge served for the flight of ancient architecture; or, with others, that architecture declined after the time of Constantine, and revived in the time of Giulio the II^d. The grandeur and sublimity of the vaulted space of the two naves passing through the "aerial dome" of Saint Sophia, 115 feet wide throughout, greatly terminated by the semi-hemispheres, leave the subject of the dedication to eternal wisdom properly pre-eminent over those to the blessed Virgin, and all the Holy Martyrs, Saint Peter and Saint Paul; and Justinian again, even in the nineteenth century, might with a prior right cry out, "O Solomon, I have vanquished thee." The expression, "severely great," may be applied properly to Saint Sophia.

The principal domes which have been erected from the time of Constantine to the time of Brunelleschi, are those of Saint Sophia;^k of the Mosques of Soliman^p the II^d, and the Sultan Achmet,^q in like manner, supported by four pillars, and four semi-hemispheres; and of the holy Apostles, at Constantinople; of Saint John, at Ephesus; of Saint^r Vital, and Saint Maria,^s at Ravenna, said to be cut out of a single block of stone; Saint Mark,^t at Venice; and of the domes of Sienna^v and Milan.^w

From Brunelleschi to the present time, the most remarkable are those of Santa Maria^m delle Fiore; of the Chapel^x of Medicis, and of the Baptistery^y at Florence; of Saint Agostino;ⁿ of Saint Peter, at the Vatican,^l at Rome; of Madonna della Salute,^z at Venice; of the Superga,ⁱ at Turin; of the Invalids,² Val³ de Grace, Sorbonne,⁴ Saint Genevieve,⁵ at Paris; and Saint⁶ Paul's, London.

The curve of the catenaria was adopted with success in the great arches which support the circular colonnade, and in the great Vault which supports the lantern at the church of St. Genevieve, (now the Pantheon François).

“In some parts of Asia,” says Mr. Eaton, “I have seen cupolas of a considerable size, built without any kind of timber support. They fix firmly in the middle a post about the height of the perpendicular wall, more or less, as the cupola is to be a larger or smaller portion of a sphere; to the top of this is fastened a strong pole, so as to move in all directions, and the end of it describes the inner parts of the cupola.”⁸ Brunelleschi constructed the cupola of Santa Maria della Fiore without a centre; his contemporaries were too hasty in calling him a fool and a madman.

The manner of lighting the upper domes seen through the eyes of the sub-domes of the churches of Invalids and Saint Genevieve, is unrivalled.

The whole vaulting of Saint Sophia, the double dome of Saint Peter, the Vaults of the naves and isles, and the tenuity of the sub-dome, and cone of St. Paul's, will excite enthusiastic pleasure in an architect, fond of the sublime in his art.

M. Raymond (in the *Mem. de l'In. Lit. et beaux arts.* Tom. III.

p. 395.) has entered into a judicious and impartial comparison of the carpentry in the domes of Santa Maria della Salute at Venice, finished in 1656, and of the church of the Hospital of Invalids at Paris; the one built by Baldassar Longhena, the other by Mansart. The carpentry of the outer dome of Santa Maria della Salute, is remarkable for sound knowledge and simplicity; while those of the churches of Invalids, Sorbonne, Val de Grace, and Saint Paul, are as remarkable for intricacy of construction, and excess of material. The principles of carpentry recommended by Philebert de l'Orm, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, are making great progress. The dome of carpentry, by the Sieur Moulineau, over the Halle au Bled, lately burnt at Paris, had its admirers throughout Europe. This dome is two hundred feet in diameter; the ribs of which it is formed consist each of three planks three inches broad, and three inches thick, bolted together, so that only two joints are together; the planks were in length about nine feet each. The intermediate ribs were gradually omitted as the work approached the vertex of the dome, leaving vacuities, which were filled with glazed lights. The extreme tenuity, and the simplicity of the construction of this dome, may well have struck the members of the Academy of Sciences at Paris with astonishment, and the carpenter, Moulineau, would not have been found an unworthy member.

An estimable quality in a building mentioned by Pliny might have belonged to this: "*Cyzici et buleuterion vocant ædificium amplum, sine ferreo clavo, ita disposita contignatione, ut eximantur trabes sine fulturis, ac reponantur.*" Lib. xxxvi. c. xv. The recollection of the solar cell of the baths of Antoninus Carracalla, in the present age, when we assume to ourselves so much credit for the invention of iron bridges, may serve to abate somewhat of the ebullition. It was a circular building, 111 feet diameter, the roof a dome, composed of copper and brass. Spartian says of it, "*Reliquit thermas nominis sui eximias, quarum cellam solearem architecti negant posse ulla imitatione qua facta est, fieri, nam ex ære vel cupro, cancelli superpositi esse dicuntur, quibus concameratio tota concredita est; et tantum est spatii ut idipsum fieri negent potuisse docti mechanici.*" By the foregoing it

would appear that the cancelli were ribs, and the concameratio plates, similar to what may be seen in our iron bridges.

Some present pleasure, and much future promise, may be received from the dome of the stables of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, at Brighton. (Fig. 8.) Shews the principle of construction of the part by which the cupola of Saint Peter's is said "to fly in the air." (Fig. 9.) That of Saint Paul's. (The one is a truncated dome pierced by four comparatively small Vaults. The other a truncated dome pierced by eight Vaults equal in width to the sides of an octagon inscribed in its base. If these domes are of the class aves, compared with that of Saint Sophia, (Fig. 7.) they must be of the order of the ostrich or land bird. The churches of Saint Genevieve, Invalids, Sorbonne, and Val de Grace, resemble Saint Peter's in this part of their structure. The Vaults in the naves and transeps of St. Genevieve have a resemblance to the Vault of Saint Sophia; also those in the church of Saint Philip of Neri, at Naples, those in the naves and isles of Saint Paul's, and those in the new rooms at the Bank of England.

Cylindrical Vaults, crossing a spherical dome, must intersect it in vertical planes; and the lines of intersection will be arcs of circles, (Fig. 7, 8, 9, 10). But it is manifest that the stability of these domes depends equally on the abutting cylindrical Vaults as on the piers; and that the pendent domes, (Fig. 7.) of Saint Sophia, (Fig. 8 and 9.) of St. Peter and Saint Paul, could not exist without resistance, as well as support, from the Vaults of the naves. In like manner when hyperbolic Vaults cross a cone, (Fig. 14.) The lines of intersection are hyperbolas, and in vertical planes, and the pendent cone must be supported and resisted by the crossing Vaults.⁹

This is not the case when an ellipse, or other curve, crosses a dome; for then Welch arches must be constructed in the pendent dome, which discharge the thrust wholly on the piers, (Fig. 12.) and render it independent, and it can stand alone. Sir Christopher Wren has either availed himself of this principle in the transverse crossing Vault of the naves, to discharge the thrust of the small domes from the upper walls, (Fig. 11.) or a necessary proximity of the piers re-

duced him to this expedient. Whatever Vaults cross a cylindrical or cylindroidal Vault of greater height, (Fig. 13.) Welch arches necessarily are constructed in the pendent part; and therefore Vaults of this character are independent of any support except from their piers. The windows which open into the vaulting of the naves of Saint Peter's, of the Church of Sorbonne, and Val de Grace, form these arches.

NOTES.

^a In the work entitled, "Avanzi delle Antichità esistenti a Pozzuoli Cuma è Baja, Tab. 51, the dome of this temple is shewn to be generated from the revolution of a pointed arch. Perhaps that delle Fiore, at Florence, was taken from it.

	Feet diam.	Feet high.
^b The dome of the Pantheon at Rome (according to Cameron, merely a vestibule to Aprippa's baths) was	142	143
^c The dome of Minerva Medica.....	78	97
^d The dome of the Baths of Caracalla.....	112	116
^e The dome of the Baths of Diocletian	74	83
^f The dome of the Temple of Mercury	68	..
^g The dome of the Temple of Diana.....	98	78
^h The dome of the Temple of Apollo	120	..
ⁱ The dome of the Temple of Venus	87	77
^k The dome of Saint Sophia.....	115	201
^l The dome of Saint Peter's.....	139	330
^m The dome of Santa Maria delle Fiore.....	139	310
ⁿ The dome of Saint Agostino
^o The dome of Saint Paul's.....	112	215
^p The dome of the Mosque of Soliman
^q The dome of the Mosque of Achmet	92	120
^r The dome of the Church of Saint Vital.....	55	91
^s The dome of the Church of Saint Maria	36	61
^t The dome of the Church of Saint Marc	44	..

The Doge Sebastian Ziani sent to Constantinople for an architect to erect this Church, at Venice, after the design of Saint Sophia.

^v The dome of the Church at Sienna	57	148
^w The dome of the Cathedral of Milan	57	254
^x The dome of the Chapel of Medicis.....	91	199
^y The dome of the Baptistery, at Florence.....	86	110
^z The dome of the Church of Madonna della Salute.....	70	133

	Feet diam.	Feet high.
¹ The dome of the Superga.....	64 ..	128
² The dome of the Church of the Invalids.....	80 ..	173
³ The dome of the Church of Val de Grace.....	55 ..	133
⁴ The dome of the Church of the Sorbonne	40 ..	110
⁵ The dome of the Church of Saint Genevieve.....	67 ..	190

⁶ The author will be obliged to any one who has leisure to continue the series.

⁷ M. Le Roi observes, " La premiere eglise ou l'on ait elevé un dôme complet sur les quatre pendentifs, qui les separent unitée en partie vraisemblablement de Saint Marc, de Venicé, est sans doute celle des Augustins a Rome. L'architecte de ce dome, dont je pris il y a trois ans les dimensions, mais qui a été detruit depuis, avoit eu de grandes difficultès de construction à surmonter; si le dôme n'étoit pas d'un grand diametre, les piliers, qui le soutenoient, étoient aussi très peu considerables."

Vasi, speaking of this Church, says, " Che per la vecchiezza minacciava rovina particolarmente la cupola, la quale vantava il primato fra tutte le moderne di Roma. Fu questa eretta dal Card. Estutevilla a l'an 1483. con disegno quasi gotico di Baccio Pintelli.

⁸ Eton's Survey of the Turkish Empire.

⁹ The failure of the eastern part of the dome of Saint Sophia is to be attributed to not sufficiently attending to this particular.

OF PYRAMIDAL VAULTS.

The spires of the Christian Churches are either pyramidal Vaults (Fig. 2), or convex pyramidal Vaults (Fig. 15). They are frequently of the latter character, though the eye of the ordinary draughtsman may perceive, yet his mind cannot comprehend the propriety of this form; and in this case, as in more important cases, the evidence of the senses is sacrificed to a defective judgment, and, as he cannot think correctly, he draws incorrectly. Emerson observes, "All spires of churches, in the forms of cones or pyramids, are equally strong in all parts to resist the wind. But when the parts cohere not together, parabolic conoids are equally strong throughout."

Convex pyramidal Vaults form a conspicuous feature in the architecture of Hindoo temples in the East Indies; as at Bindrabund, about 70 miles south of Delhi, on the river Jumna, dedicated to the idol Seva; and at Agooree, on the river Soane Bahar^a (Fig. 15); and, as in our churches, the arch is an intersection of two small arcs of a great curve.

At the revival of the arts under Bruneleschi, the convex pyramidal Vault was in great esteem, as at Santa Maria delle Fiore; and, as might have been expected, this example was eagerly followed in less buildings. Bruneleschi wisely adopted the pointed arch for the form^b of his cupola. Serlio, in his fifth book, has given some designs of domes of this kind: the French nation, in more modern times, has almost exclusively appropriated them to herself; and may she long enjoy the "voutes de cloitre" (Fig. 16), and "voutes en cul de four pans" (Fig. 17), in an exclusive and unenvied possession.

NOTES.

^a See Daniel's Views.

^b See a section in the *Templum Vaticanum et ipsius origo, &c.* by Carlo Fontana.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF VAULTS

NEITHER the Egyptians nor the Greeks made use of the arch or ceiling composed of stones, which, by acting against each other, are supported by the same force by which they would otherwise fall. Their ceilings were formed of stones of an extraordinary size, either bearing the whole length from one wall to another as lintels, or tailed down in the manner of the steps of a stone staircase. The architrave of the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, the Temple of Latona at Buttis, and the Tomb of Osimand in Egypt, have been cited as extraordinary examples; the latter being covered with stone eight cubits long, the foot of the statue of this Osimandes was seen seven cubits long. The Egyptian cubit was about 22 English inches long.

Herodotus, lib. ii. c. 148, says, that the Labyrinth, a few miles south of the Lake Mœris, consists of twelve courts, roofed with solid marble, and within the wall there were 1500 dwellings roofed with different kinds of valuable stones. The Egyptians were certainly unacquainted with the construction of Vaults by voussoirs; and that knowledge was unnecessary, while they possessed the stones they used, and could raise them of any size. That which is in a great measure a substitute for the insufficiency and imperfection of materials, would be to them an useless art. An architect who had the means of covering a room with a single stone, would not employ a hundred for that purpose.

Pliny mentions, that the architect of the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, despairing of being able to raise the stone to be placed over the entrance, from its extraordinary size (about 16 feet in length) offered up a prayer to the goddess for assistance, she, anxious for his life, or her own temple, fixed the stone herself in its place. Perrault, remarking on this stone, observes, that it would have puzzled, not only the architect, but Diana herself, to have accomplished the vaulting of the Louvre, and justly contrasts with the stone at Ephesus the flat ceilings of stone, 13 feet square, suspended between the columns of the

great porticos in that building. Perrault, perhaps, had not heard of soffites at the north and south ends, or the architrave of the great door of the Temple of the Sun at Palmyra.

The dome of the choragic monument of Lysicrates at Athens, six feet diameter, is of one stone. Of the cupola of the octagon tower of Andronicus Cyrhestes at Athens, about 23 feet diameter, M. Le Roi observes, “*Nous n’aurions tiré aucunes lumieres sur la maniere dont les anciens construisoient leurs temples ronds, qui avoient une certaine etendue, si la tour des vents ne nous en affroit pas un exemple. Les pierres qui composent la voute portent par un bout sur les murs de la tour et elle se reunissent par l’autre en diminuant à une ronde qui est au centre, et leur sert de clef.*” Dr. Pococke gives nearly a similar description. Stuart merely says, that the roof is of marble, cut into the form of tiles; as if this subject were not interesting to the architects, for whom he proposed to travel. M. Le Roi gives a very satisfactory plan of the ceiling of the Temple of Theseus: he supposes the tiles used here to resemble those mentioned by Pausanias to be at the Temple of Jupiter Olympius. Pausanias says, that the author of the contrivance of covering edifices with marble was Byzes of Naxos, who lived about 580 years before Christ. Livy, lib. xlii. c. 3, says, that part of the Temple of Juno Lavinia in Abruzzo was uncovered, and the marble tiling (*marmoræ tegulæ*) employed in decorating the Temple of Equestrian Fortune, newly erected by the Censor Fulvius (B. C. 173 years). The Senate, considering it a sacrilege to Juno, the tiles were carried back; but an artist of sufficient skill could not be found to replace them in their original position, and the tiles were therefore left in the area of the temple.

Pausanias, speaking of the Propylea, says, that it was covered with roofs of marble, which exceeded in beauty, and size of the marble, all that he had before beheld. Sir George Wheeler says, that the Temple of Minerva was covered outwardly with great planks of stone, of which some are fallen down, and are to be seen in the mosque. Sir George Wheeler describes a little square temple, which he found at Mylasa in Caria, to be covered by great stones, projecting one over the other, resembling on the outside a pyramid of steps. Dr. Pococke

says, on the entablature of this temple there is raised a very grand covering of large stones laid across in four tiers, one over the other, every tier setting in so as to make a sort of cupola within. In the *Voyage Pittoresque de la Greece*, Paris, 1782, and in the second volume of the *Ionian Antiquities* there are very interesting sections of this temple.

M. L. Dutens, in his *Recherches sur les tems le plus reculé de l'usage les Voutes*, cites, among others, the following authorities. Pausanias's Description of King Minyas' *Ærarium*, built 1350 years before Christ; the Labyrinth of Egypt; the Gardens of Semiramis at Babylon, and her subterraneous Passage under the Euphrates. The words of Seneca, which deny to Democritus, who lived 450 years before Christ, the invention of Vaults. The words of Plato, which recommend as a monument to the first magistrate a very long Vault. Aristotle's simile of the works of God to the stones of a Vault. The arches mentioned by Sir George Wheeler at the theatre of Bacchus, built 328 years before Christ. The Cloaca Maxima of Rome, composed of three courses of stones, begun by Tarquin the Elder, and finished by Tarquin the Proud, about 600 years before Christ. The Aqueduct of Ancus Marcius. Sallust's account of the Prison of Tullius Hostilius. The Tomb of the Scipios (L. C. Scipio, great grandfather of Africanus, died 300 years before Christ), and the Gate at Pæstum. Mr. Wilkins conjectures that this gateway, as well as the pseudodipteral and hexastyle Temples of Pæstum, were erected subsequent to the conquest of that city by the Romans, about 270 years before Christ; and he agrees with Mr. King, in his *Muni. Antiq.* respecting the antiquity of the arch. These authorities declare, that Vaults are very ancient; but it is to be observed, that the word Vault does not always imply the present mode of construction by voussoirs; and though Pausanias speaks of the *Ærarium* of Minyas, as composed of stones, the highest of which secured all the others, it does not follow that they were of a wedge-like form: for a Vault may be composed of stones projecting one over another (more than half their size), so that the upper stone shall be necessary to the stability of the whole.

The method of vaulting by voussoirs might be known to the Ro-

mans, and to the Greeks, before the time of the first Punic war; but it is more derogatory to the latter people in a contemplation of their buildings to suppose them acquainted with Vaults so constructed, than to suppose them ignorant of them. In the substitution of arches for lintels, the Romans in the latter ages were able to cover spacious openings with materials which, Sir Christopher Wren observes, a labourer might carry on his back.

From the circumstances that the domes of the Romans were built of brick and stuccoed, it has been concluded that they were ignorant of the art "*de la coupe des pierres.*" The fact does not warrant the conclusion: their knowledge of the *voussoir* in the common cylindric arch shews their acquaintance with the elements; and it is reasonable to believe, that economy and dispatch, rather than ignorance, determined their practice. It was reserved for the time and country of Perrault, in a display of skill, to sacrifice economy and convenience in productions where the learned themselves would require a showman to point out the phenomenon.

By the general adoption of the arch in architecture, to whomever the invention of it may belong, the Romans excelled the Greeks in the science of building, as much as the Byzantine Greeks and the Gothic architects excelled them. From that time architecture began to assume a new character; and it is not difficult to trace, in the arches of the interior of the Temple of Faunus on the Celian Mount, or in the arcades of the Coliseum, the features which afterward became more prominent in what has been called Norman architecture, nor in that the features which designate Gothic architecture. The Romans were slow in exchanging the portico for the arcade, and in rendering the column subordinate to the arch: they retained it as an ornament, where it ceased to become a useful member; and succeeding ages, whatever has been the style of architecture in fashion, have followed their example, and have always found it necessary, either for service or beauty. Equal respect has not been paid to the entablature; the absurdity of using it where the arch became a substitute for the lintel, was soon perceived, and it did not form a feature in any subsequent architecture, until it was used again, and often misused, at the revival of learning in Europe. Through the progress of the science of building, from the post and beam architecture of the

Egyptians, the Phenicians, and the Greeks, to the adoption of the arch in the various styles of architecture, which a knowledge of its uses and of its versatile application occasioned, we trace a gradual decline in the art. The buildings of the Acropolis and Ionia are in the highest rank in respect of the art; but they and the buildings in Egypt are in the lowest in respect to the science. The Pantheon and the Temple of Peace take a middle station. We admit the Dome of St. Sophia, enthusiastically termed "the earthly heaven, the second firmament, the offspring of the celestial inspirations of Justinian, worthy the glory of his reign, and the salvation of his soul;" but in the enumeration of the marbles, the Carystian, the Phrygian, the Carian and Lydian, the porphyries and jaspers of Paul Silentarius, we can discern the rich variegated picture congenial to the eyes of a Christian of the sixth and a Mussulman of the fifteenth century.^a If we proceed in the examination of architecture to the twelfth and succeeding centuries, until the perfection of the science in the erection of arches in the time of Henry VI. we are still led to conclude, that as it advanced in science it declined in art.

Science is useful to an architect only as it renders the application of his means more convenient and less expensive. Projecting for an immediate object, it seldom leaves in its productions the properties of conversion: though it may make the architect bold, that boldness is displayed by the weakness of his structure, or in its being only sufficiently strong. It has been before shewn, that the science displayed in a building may be estimated by the inverse ratio of the quantity of materials: on the other hand, it often happens, that the strength in a building may be estimated by an inverse ratio of the science in the construction. The maximum of skill was shewn by the Italian, whose edifice was so duly balanced, that it would fall by a sparrow perching on any part of it. The Egyptian and Greek, alike unacquainted with the due adjustment of forces, in the ample provision suggested by their cautious ignorance, in a kind of porism unknowingly secured their buildings against time and violence. He who calculates powers, often forgets that his formulæ are not applicable to those enemies to buildings; and that the uncertain data of decay and popular frenzy cannot be mixed with the certain data of gravitation.

M. Bossut, in his *Traité de Mécanique*, observes, that it does not appear that the ancient architects were guided by certain and geo-

metrical principles in the means which they adopted to secure the stability of their edifices. Experience, imitation, and a natural knowledge of mechanics, served them as their guides. Vitruvius, who has treated on all the subjects which appeared to him to have any relation to architecture, has been wholly silent in respect to the advantage to be obtained from mechanics, in acquiring a knowledge of, and in decomposing forces, and in determining the point to sustain them. The art of construction does not form any part of his treatise. From this circumstance alone, were not their buildings in confirmation, we may conclude that they were employed, like many modern architects, in the pleasing investigation of interior and exterior decoration, and internal arrangement, leaving the question of stability, and the details of the means of execution, to the workman. Vitruvius informs us that, originally, in wide buildings, supports were placed to support the culmen or ridge-piece of the roof, and thence they took the name of columns. An example may be seen in the pseudodipteral Temple of Paestum; in one at Egina, in others more ancient, described by Norden in Upper Egypt; as in that of Komombu, and of the Temple of the serpent Knuphis; and in the more modern Temple of Faunus, erected by the Emperor Claudius on the Caelian Mount, now called St. Stephen the Round. Homer, in his Odyssey, often mentions a range of columns in the middle of rooms. It is evident that the culmen could not require support, unless the external walls were thrust out by the lateral pressure of the rafters. Had the Greeks thought of the other expedient of supporting the culmen, namely, by strengthening the external walls by abutments, it is possible that the knowledge of the Greeks in architecture would have extended beyond the arrangement of posts and beams, and porticos and colonnades would not have become a characteristic style of architecture. It has been plausibly conjectured, that the pleasing effect of the first row of columns, under the culmen, suggested the exterior rows of columns, from the simple Prostylas to the wood-like Dipteros.

Mr. Reveley, in his preface to the third volume of Stuart's *Antiquities of Athens*, takes occasion to censure Sir William Chambers for his *Strictures of Grecian Architecture*. Sir William might be wrong

in calling their columns gouty, at least he will for a few years be thought so; but he was correct in saying, that "the magnificence of Grecian buildings^b could not be compared with either Roman or modern productions; that they were grossly ignorant of construction; and if their buildings were uncovered,^c it was because they knew not how to cover them," notwithstanding what has been said of the Opisthodomus of the Temple of Minerva, which Mr. Reveley says was roofed; how, Stuart has not informed us. Le Roi shews us how the pronaos and posticum of the Temple of Theseus were roofed; and we cannot doubt as to the manner of that of the Opisthodomus of the Temple of Minerva. Stuart says there were six columns in this part of the building, which Spon and Wheeler saw. Had the principle of construction been part of Stuart's object, he might have found, perhaps, the marks of six more. The mode of roofing, which was stone, cannot at present be explained; for we cannot suppose the Greeks used stone beams 40 feet long. The whole Temple was covered with a roof when Wheeler saw it, which must have been of modern construction, as the middle of the cell was never covered in such buildings. He tells us, that it had been covered outwardly with great planks of stone which lay in the mosque.

A captain in the Venetian army (*Lettere memorabile di Bulifone raccolta seconda*) says of the Temple of Minerva, "Era detto Tempio in forma di parallelogrammo: le mura tutte composte di famosissimo marmo bianco, le colonne che l'accompagnavano erano al numero di 60, sopra le quali posava un cielo di grandissima mole, in alcuni luoghi per ornamento, vi erano alcune cupole le di cui estremità si componevano di mattoni a mosaico, in una di queste cadde la bomba." These brick cupolas might have been erected by the architect of Santa Sophia at Constantinople. A plan of the whole ceiling would have afforded an interesting comparison between Grecian architecture of the time of Justinian with that of the time of Pericles, in respect to ceilings.

The merit of Gothic architecture remained unknown from the revival of learning until a few years ago, when the wonderful productions of that style began to be studied. The opinion entertained of it

in the two following centuries bears much resemblance to that of the illiterate Arab, Dames, respecting the Greeks, in his exclamation, "God curse those Grecian dogs, what a strange barbarous language they speak!" It is natural to condemn what we cannot understand. Walpole very justly observes, that the round arch being so natural, it is simply, when unaccompanied by any graceful ornaments, a mark of a rude age. An age may be refined in respect to taste, and rude in respect to science: such were the Greeks in respect to architecture. The post and beam is to the Doric order of the Parthenon, in respect to art, what a cylindrical vault is to the Vault of King's College Chapel, Cambridge, in respect to science.

The Vaults of the Cathedrals^d in Gothic architecture are more light and more elevated than those of the churches erected after the Roman manner; and by the peculiarity of their construction require less resistance to the lateral thrust, and consequently pillars of less substance to support them. M. Soufflot, in tracing the steps of Gothic architecture in his scientific Survey of French Churches, and by acquiring a knowledge of the Eastern way of vaulting by hemispheres, was enabled to leave in the Church of St. Genevieve, now the Pantheon Français, an example of lightness in Roman architecture, which before his time it was considered not susceptible of. The Vaulting of Notre Dame at Mantes, built by Eudes de Montreuil about the middle of the sixteenth century, affected Soufflot and Gabriel with such astonishment, by the extraordinary hardness of its construction, that we may believe that had they been employed in the erection, notwithstanding the knowledge which they possessed, that they also, with the other workmen, would have refused to strike the centre, until they had, in the nephew of the architect, a hostage for their security.

NOTES.

^a It is manifest, that the Temple to Divine Wisdom served to Milton as a model for his Hall of all the Demons.

“ From the arched roof,
Pendent by subtle magic, many a row
Of starry lamps and blazing cressets, fed
With naptha and asphaltus, yielded light
As from a sky,” &c.

The ages in which Justinian and Milton lived become an apology for an omission, which would have been unpardonable in Ovid. He could not complete the Temple of the Sun without adding

“ Materiem superabat opus: nam Mulciber illic
Æquora cælâret,” &c.

Or, perhaps, as Milton thought fit to employ the same architect as Ovid, he judiciously omitted in the prior building, what in the subsequent would shew the architect's improvement.

Homer's description of the Palace of Alcinous shews a civilization surpassing the ages of Justinian and Milton. *Odyss.* book VII.

^b The most magnificent example of Grecian architecture was perhaps the Temple of Jupiter Olympus at Elis. In it there was a sitting statue of that god, sixty feet high. It was observed by Strabo (L. viii.) that if the god had got up, he must either have broken his own head, or have made a hole in the roof. The god might safely play at leap-frog in Westminster Abbey.

^c This was probably the case with the Temple of Apollo Didymæus. Strabo says, that “ it continued without a roof on account of its great size.”

^d “ It is extremely singular, that there is no covering of tiles, or lead, or copper, or any roof of timber, to the great church of Milan. It is merely vaulted over, and upon the vaulting are laid large slabs or planes of marble, to carry off the rain and moisture.” *Observ.* by T. Kerrich, XII. *Archaeologia*. It is very singular, that vaults should not always have become roofs as well as ceilings, in the Cathedrals which are vaulted.

OF GROINED RIBBED VAULTS.

Dr. ROBISON, with peculiar felicity, praises, condemns, and excuses, the artists of the thirteenth and two following centuries. Speaking of their knowledge of vaulting, he observes, "An art so multifarious, and so much out of the road of ordinary thought, could not but become an object of fond study to the architects most eminent for ingenuity and invention; becoming thus the dupes of their own ingenuity, they were fond of displaying it where not necessary." The ingenious and promising invention of substituting ribs for the groins of a groined Vault required the practice of increasing the height of the generating curve over the sides of the space to be covered. When the arch over the side of the polygon (Fig. 5.) is a semi-circle, the arch over the diagonal becomes elliptic, the longer axis horizontal. By making the arch over the side a semi-ellipse, the short axis horizontal, the arch over the diagonal becomes proportionally elevated. If the arch over the diagonal in an octagon plan (Fig. 6.) be semi-circular, that over the side will become elevated in proportion to its width, as the radius 1, to ,7653, the side of an inscribed octagon. At the baths of Diocletian the crossing Vaults of the great Hall are elliptic; the short axis horizontal, and of such a curvature, that the groins or arches over the diagonals of the side groined Vaults are semi-circles.

Gautier says, that pointed arches were used in bridges, churches, and other buildings, "*par la faire moins de pousée.*" Sir Christopher Wren makes a similar observation, adding, that these arches required less centering and thinner stones.^a

In every arch the summering of each voussoir decreases from the springing to the vertex; and in an arch whose tangent at the vertex is horizontal, the summering necessarily vanishes at that point. The thickness which is given to an arch at the vertex, has relation to what may be considered a sufficient summering. Hence the more oblique

the tangent of an arch at the vertex may be, or, in other words, the more acutely pointed the arch, the less thickness of material will be required. By a parity of reasoning it may be shewn, that the more acute the arch may be at the vertex, the less lateral thrust will be on the abutment. These geometrical and mechanical facts must necessarily have led to the adoption of the semi-elliptical Vault, the short axis horizontal, or to the pointed arch. A gentleman, eminent as a scholar and a man of taste, observes, that, "the pointed arch is the primitive arch, of which the earliest instance known in Europe is the emissarius of the lake Albano, built during the siege of Veii, (394 years before Christ,) before either the Greeks or Romans knew how to turn any other kind of arch: for, as this may be constructed without any centre, by advancing the stones in gradual projections over each other, and then cutting off the projecting angles, its invention was obvious, and naturally preceded those constructed upon mechanical principles, of which, I believe, there are no examples anterior to the Macedonian conquest." ^b The account of this pointed arch is manifestly copied without thought from the work of some ignorant person; an emissarium may be conceived to be an arch. The first covering of an enclosed space, whether by wood or stone (not a lintel), was, and must have been in the form of a pediment; the roofs of the Queen's chamber, and of the passage to the tomb in the pyramid of Egypt, are an unnecessary confirmation. This pyramid, we are told, was built soon after the Trojan war; about twelve centuries before the Birth of Christ.

Were it admitted that this emissarium had been hollowed out in a form like that of a pointed arch, nothing could be gained from this solitary fact in answer to the questions: When were arches first known? What were the forms of these arches? Seneca Epis. 90. denies to Democritus the invention of an arch, "ut lapidum curvaturâ paulatim inclinatum medio saxo allegaretur;" such an arch as this must have required a center. Democritus flourished sixty years before the siege of Veii. The question to be agitated, if any inquiry upon the subject were worth the labour, is; When were the arches

(composed of voussoirs) first in use? to which a satisfactory answer has not yet been given. Lintels may be hollowed out into any shape, and the stones which project over one another, like steps, and covering a room, may be also cut into any shape. The stone covering over the Temple of Mylassa could not have been cut out into the form of a pointed arch; but might have been cut into an extremely flat ellipse or scheme arch. The whims and caprices of masons are not to be attended to. The Vault of the Salon en forma de tribunal of the Patio de los Leones of the Alhambra, at Granada, is of the early construction by inverted offsets, and is hollowed out into fantastical shapes which could have suggested themselves only to the mind of an Arab architect. Sir Christopher Wren says, that the pointed arch was derived from the Saracens; we must not apply to Granada or Cordoba for confirmation, although we may see there the trefoil and cinquefoil arch.

Mr. Gell, in his *Itinerary of Greece*, 1810, says, “Between Krabata and the Acropolis of Mycenæ, is the Treasury of Atreus: the apartment itself consists of a circular dome, in shape like a bee-hive, 47 feet 6 inches in diameter, and about 50 in height. [He has given a section of it.] This dome is not composed of stones, which form part of the radii of a circle, as in an arch, but is constructed with horizontal courses, the inside of each stone being curved in such a manner, that the whole has the appearance of a regular vault. Though a stone is now wanting near the top, the roof seems to be in no danger of falling. Vaults of this construction are to be found among the ruins of the ancient cities of Sicily. About three miles from Noto, in the districts of Falconara, is a peninsula covered with ruins of the ancient city of Macara. Here, in a place called the citadel, are buildings covered with large stones placed horizontally, and having, like that of Mycenæ, internally the appearance of a dome.” He further says, “It is of little consequence whether these treasuries or magazines were erected by Atreus or his predecessors.”

Mr. Walpole has happily remarked, that “it may as well be asked who invented pure Italian, as who invented the pointed arch; and

he might have added La Fontaine's maxim in regard to another subject of jealousy:

Quand on l'ignore, ce n'est rien.

Quand on le scait, c'est peu de chose.

The maxim applied to the generation of natural bodies, may be said of Vaults, "*Corruptio unius, generatio alterius.*"

From the time of Pericles, through the ages of Augustus, Justinian, and the Normans, every succeeding five centuries to the fifteenth, like a lustral cleansing, is remarkable for the alterations in architecture: and the alterations appear to have arisen from the modes of covering the spaces enclosed for public worship. It is also remarkable, that the prevention of fire has been the mother of the inventions which have characterised those times. Parsons, in his *Travels in Asia and Africa*, says, "that in Aleppo, there is no fear of fire, their houses being of stone, and the cieling's arched." Dr. Johnson, describing the palace in the Happy Valley, in Raselas, says, "that the roofs were turned into arches of massy stone, joined by a cement that grew harder by time; and the building stood from century to century defying the solstitial rains, and equinoctial hurricanes, without need of reparation." Thick stone walls will remain to mark the site of a building, but Vaults alone can preserve the building itself. It is the roof which makes the house.

Previously to vaulting the naves of the Cathedrals round headed arches were general, and there were few examples either of rib or pannel vaulting, pointed arches, pinnacles, or buttresses. While Vaults were confined to low buildings, as crypts and the ailes of cathedrals, it is obvious, that the thick walls of the Saxons and Normans would be able to resist their thrusts.

The numerous arches at the Alhambra in Granada, at the Mosque at Cordoba, probably built about the eighth century, are elliptical horse-shoe arches.

In the vaulting of the ailes of Durham and Canterbury Cathedrals are to be observed, the "*arcs doubleaux*," and groined ribs in round-headed Vaults. In the naves of the same buildings is the same character of vaulting, except that the arch of the Vault is pointed.

Some vaults of this kind are to be distinguished from others by the positing of the stones of the Vault between the ribs, which, instead of being parallel to each side of the plan, as in Roman groined Vaults, take a mean direction between the groined rib, and the ribs of the arches over the sides; whence they meet the vertex at an acute angle, and are received by stones running along the vertex, cut in the form of a ratchet. The advantage of this method consists in requiring less centering, and originates in the position of the ribs at the springing.

From these beginnings vaulting began to assume those practical advantages, which the joint adoption of the pointed arch and ribs was calculated to produce.

Gray, in a letter to Mr. Mason, says, "Gothic architecture, previous to the time of Henry the Third, is of a clumsy and heavy proportion, with a few rude and awkward ornaments; then all at once came in the tall and picked arches, the light clustered columns, the capitals of curling foliage, the fretted tabernacles and vaultings, and a profusion of statues, &c. that constituted the Gothic style; together with decreasing and flying buttresses and pinnacles on the outside." If the antiquary will not ascribe the ornaments characteristic of the Gothic architecture of the times of Henry the Third, and succeeding ages, to the vaulting the naves of the cathedrals, nor the pointed arch to the necessity for its production, but only to fortuitous circumstances, it must be acknowledged, that the contemporaneous production is remarkable, especially as those ornaments and that form are useful only in vaulted buildings.

The second step differed from the first, inasmuch as at the vertex of the Vault, a continued key-stone or ridge projects below the surface of the Vault, and forms a feature similar to the ribs. But here it was necessary, that the ridge should be a stone of great length, or having artificially that property, because its suspension by a thinner Vault than itself would be unsafe, unless assisted by the rib arches over the diagonals, and side, a distance equal to half the width of the Vault,^c (Fig. 18). To obviate this objection, other ribs were introduced at intervals, which may be conceived to be groined ribs over

various oblongs, one side continually decreasing, (Fig. 19). This practice had a further advantage, as the pannels or vaults between the ribs might become proportionally thinner as the principal supports increased. It is now that the apparent magic hardness of pointed vaulting and the high embowered roof began to display itself; from slender columns to stretch shades as broad as those of the oak's thick branches, and in the levity of the pannel to the rib to imitate that of the leaf to the branch.

On comparing rib pointed vaulting with Roman vaulting, it will be invariably found, that the rib itself is thinner than the uniform thickness of the Roman Vault under similar circumstances; and, that the pannel, which is the principal part of the Vault in superficial quantity, sometimes does not exceed one-ninth part of the rib in thickness. The Gothic architects, it has been expressively said, have given to stone an apparent flexibility equal to the most ductile metals, and have made it forget its nature, weaning it from its fondness to descend to the centre.

NOTES.

^a "At Bassora, where they have no timber but the wood of the date tree, which is like a cabbage stalk, they make arches without any frame. The mason, with a nail and a bit of string, describes a semicircle on the ground, lays his bricks, fastened together with a gypsum cement, on the lines thus traced, and having thus formed his arch, except the crown brick, it is carefully raised, and in two parts placed upon the walls. They proceed thus till the whole arch is finished. This part is only half a brick thick, but it serves them to turn a stronger arch over it."—Survey of the Turkish Empire, by William Eton, Esq.

^b R. P. Knight's An. Inq. Prin. Taste.

^c Fig. 19. The French call the "arcs doubleaux" over the lines *ad*, *bc*, "nervures." Those over the lines *ab*, *dc*, when they abut against the walls, "formerets." Those over *ap*, *ao*, &c. "tiercerons." Those over the diagonals *ac*, *bd*, "ogives." The ridges over *om*, *mp*, &c. "liernes."

OF RIBBED VAULTS

BY RIBS OF THE SAME CURVATURE.

THE progress of vaulting has been from the cylindrical to the hemispherical, from the groined vault to the pendent dome, both in round-headed and pointed arches.

To determine the form of the separate ribs in a Vault by the slow and geometrical process of ordinates, or by the trammel and foci, was inconsistent with the simplicity of practice, and led to a multiplicity of errors and a discordancy of workmanship. The mechanical construction of a circle is not higher than the level of the meanest capacity. The ellipse was known to the Romans, the Byzantine Greeks, and the Free Masons; they successively tried it in architecture, and rejected it. Again from the eminence of mathematical learning the ellipse has been protruded in a branch of art. But the false ellipse intended to simplify the practice, has cheated the mathematician, deceived the architect, and the flowing line of a geometrical curve has been missed.

Mr. Eton, in his Survey of the Turkish Empire, observes, "that the Turks have no means of calculating the lateral pressure of arches or of cupolas, though they generally err on the right side." From Mr. Eton's story of the catenaria, and this paragraph, his knowledge may be doubted rather than that of the Turks. However theorists may question the knowledge of the Turks, in respect of the scientific construction of a cupola, or the builders of the middle ages of that of arches, it must be admitted, that both the one and the other have been very lucky in their practice.

The advantage peculiar to the different kinds of vaulting were concentrated in the next efforts; where the form of the Vault (Fig. 21.) may be conceived to be composed of the four quadrants of an inverted concave conoid; the base being a circle inscribed in the plan, by which the curvature of each rib is of the same genesis. These ribs are either equal arcs of the same curve, and separated by a quadrangle

with concave sides, fitting the convexity of the inverted conoidal parts (Fig. 21), the materials of which are posited domewise, or the ribs are protracted until they meet (Fig. 20). It will be manifest, after having investigated the generation of groined Vaults, and considered them analogically to these examples, that should the ribs be all of the same curvature, or arcs of the same curve, and protracted until they meet, that the rib over the diagonal of the plan will necessarily be longer and higher than the others, and they would decrease in height according to their proximity to that over the side (Fig. 20).

In an early investigation of Vaulting, it had been observed, that the continued key-stone or ridge of the Vaults in some of the Cathedrals rose and fell in a kind of undulation. What then was attributed to error and defective workmanship, has since been the cause of solid content and admiration. It is difficult to make judgment wait upon knowledge; and this apology will, it is hoped, be recollected and accepted, in respect to many opinions, which may appear erroneous in this tract.

By substituting ribs of the same curvature for the varying elliptic ribs in a groined rib Vault, the mason again is reduced to the proper level of an handicraft, and the simplicity of construction may also vie with that of the original cylindrical Vault; while the apparent intricacy has given rise to a story not less false and derogatory to the great man who is the subject of it, than characteristic of the cheat this description of vaulting practises even upon minds more than ordinarily informed, inquiring, and ingenious. Mr. Walpole (Vol. I. p. 185, *Anec. of Paint.*) has related, without a remark on the fallaciousness of the story, that "there is a tradition, that Sir Christopher Wren went once a year to survey the roof of the Chapel of King's College, Cambridge (Fig. 22), and said, that if any man would shew him where to place the first stone, he would engage to build another." In the contemplation of the distant objects of antiquity, Mr. Walpole may be esteemed a glass of great power; but Mr. Walpole, like other glasses, confuses objects that are not within his focus.

The dome which crowns or separates the peripheries of the inverted parts of the conoid (Fig. 21), and acts as a key-stone, has these

practical advantages over the pendent dome of St. Sophia, that, by being composed of ribs and pannels, the parts might be made of almost any lightness; and that the dome is independent of any assistance, except from the piers on which it rests.

It will be observed, that the triangular spaces (Fig. 21) concave to fit the convexities of the central dome; and parts of the inverted conoid must be level when the ribs are the same arc of the same circle. It would at first seem that they could not be supported, were the Vault over a square plan, as in the ailes of Henry the Seventh's Chapel, Westminster, and of great width as at St. Sophia. But it is to be recollected, that the parts by position would have a double summering, as in a dome; and that the flat ceilings of the Louvre illustrate the practicability. Yet, at the same time, it must be admitted, that the principle is not correct, because the direction of the summering being acute to the soffit of the Vault, the reliance is rather on the material than on the method. The Free Masons themselves were not unmindful of this geometrical objection; and pointed arches, formed of the intersections of the false parabola and hyperbola, arose to obviate, conceal, and assist the practical evil, as at King's College Chapel, Henry the Seventh's Chapel, and St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

The Vault of the Chapel of King's College, Cambridge (Fig. 22) has rather been a subject of wonder than inquiry, and some observations on it may therefore be acceptable.

The Vault of this Chapel is divided into parts called severies, each severy subtending an oblong, consequently the curves of the inverted conoid intersect each other before the quadrant of the circle is completed (Fig. 22), whence the intersections form a ridge, declining towards the windows or smaller side of the oblong, and again in the opposite direction parallel thereto: so that the ridge parallel with the length of the building forms the undulation before alluded to; but, from the circumstance of the curve of the Vault and the subtended plan, it is seldom observed. However great and however deservedly may have been the praise bestowed upon this Vault, it does not afford as complete satisfaction as the Vaults in the ailes of Henry the Seventh's Chapel, Westminster, which are surmounted over a square plan. The

objection here hinted at might have been avoided, if the ribs in the inverted conoid had been of different curvatures by the base of the conoid being an ellipse inscribed in the oblong. But this would have been a sacrifice of practical simplicity, perhaps not compensated by the geometrical correctness.

It is observable in the construction of this Vault, that the principle of using free-stone for the ribs and top for the pannels has not been followed; but the whole Vault has been "got out" of the same description of stone, and with an uniform face, and the pannels worked afterwards, and reduced to a tenuity hardly credible, except from measurement. The artists of this building might be trusted in the decoration of a Vault, with what is now called tracery; they knew how to render it the chief support, and what was the superfluous stone to be taken away: every part has a place, not only proper, but necessary; and in the ribs which adorn the Vault, we may in vain look for false positions. This is the ocular music, which affords universal pleasure. It is not always that the professor and the patron have sufficiently fine eyes in modern productions to play tunes with plaster and composition ribs, which do not give pain to those acquainted with the construction of the vaults of the middle ages. It is dangerous to reduce those parts of a composition to mere ornaments, which have originated in use, and are to retain a semblance of it. It may be pardonable to exclaim in the phraseology of a great patron of architecture: "Ye Grecian builders, Gothic science is no more. Ye Gothic builders, this Chapel is alive."

From the foregoing examination of pointed Vaulting, having particular regard to the continued key-stone and parts separating the opposing ribs, it will have appeared evident that, had the tangent at the vertices been horizontal, that is, if the curves of the Vaults had always been round-headed, the rib and pannel Vaulting could not have been practised, nor would the anomaly of a barbarous age, surpassing all ancient and modern architecture, have served to lessen an enthusiasm for the one, and excite doubts of the success of the other.

The elegance and practical benefits of this latter kind of Vaulting

had not escaped the observation of Sir Christopher Wren. In the *Parentalia* is a fragment of a paper on Vaulting, with a view to justify his adoption of the eastern mode of vaulting by hemispheres, in preference to the foregoing: the object of the paper, its incomplete state, the unfair admission required in the comparison, leave some doubts in the reader, whether Sir Christopher Wren really felt convinced of the superiority of the eastern way of vaulting by hemispheres, which he endeavours to enforce, and has adopted in St. Paul's Cathedral.

A reference to the plan of the Cathedral of St. Paul's will shew the contrivance by which the buttresses to the vaultings of the nave are concealed; and the section through the nave will make it manifest, that the pointed is the most proper kind of Vault for a Cathedral, especially in the ailes. Who that has seen the columns in Westminster Abbey, Salisbury and Lincoln Cathedrals, but will contemplate with doubtful praise the massy piers which support and resist the Vaults of the naves and ailes of St. Paul's Cathedral. From the *Parentalia* it will be found, that Sir Christopher Wren was led to the adoption of his massy quadrangular piers by the effect the Vaults of the ailes, even pointed, have had on the columns on which the walls of the naves in many of the Cathedrals rest. The same reasoning which induced him to adopt the cone to sustain the lantern, compelled the adoption of the piers of the nave. In the one instance, we regret the expense of an unnecessary wooden dome, and apprehend a fate depending on the care of plumbers: in the other, we miss the pervading view which we enjoy among the shafts of the Cathedrals of the Freemasons. It is also difficult not to grudge the expense of the wooden dome, and especially the screen-walls the whole length of the north and south fronts, whether intended to hide plagiarism, or to conform to Roman architecture. They say in France, "*Que pour faire une eglise parfaite, il faudroit le chœur de Beauvais, la nef d'Amiens, le portail de Reims, les clochers de Chartres, et les tours de Paris.*" The limbs have not been selected from English productions, to form an ideal beauty.

It would be improper to pass over the Vaulting by inverted co-

noids, without making mention of the pendants, which excite in travellers so much astonishment. Those which appear sticking to the arches, as at the Divinity School, Oxford, and at the Hall Staircase, Christ Church, and in the nave of Henry the Seventh's Chapel, Westminster, which appear as an after-thought and mistake, and are little better than excrescences, demanding supporting columns, need not detain us. But those which are seen at King's College Chapel, Cambridge, and in the centre of the Vaults both of the nave and ailes of Henry the Seventh's Chapel, Westminster, require a particular regard. One of this description is stated to project below the summit of the Vault fifteen feet at the Church of St. Etienne du Mont, Paris. These pendants serve to illustrate the mechanical property in Dome Vaulting, namely, that the eye may be of extraordinary gravity or wholly omitted, and lead to a conclusion, confirmed by the double domes of Italy, that a Dome Vault may progressively increase in thickness towards the vertex.

As it must be admitted, that Vaults formed of inverted conoids have the property of domes, the inquiry into the mode of suspending pendants will be referable thereto. A cone, if its base be prevented spreading, will bear any weight; a dome generated by the revolution of a small arc of a great circle a less weight, and the weight must be reduced in proportion to the increased convexity. The lanterns at the vertices of the domes of St. Peter and St. Paul might as well, in respect of the mechanical action, have been pendent as insistent.^a

In that part of the Cathedral of Cordoba, erected by the Arabs over the entrance where the Koran was kept, and over the place near the pulpit, whence the Mufti explained the law, allotted to the Kings, there are hemispherical domes, which have hemispherical pendants suspended from the vertex, whose diameters are about one-fourth of the diameter of the domes themselves, but the largest of these domes is not more than sixteen feet. The Vaulting over the place in which the Koran was kept is very curious. See *Antiguedade's Arabes de Granada y Cordova*.

NOTES.

^a After the completion of King's College Chapel, Cambridge, Roman Architecture came in fashion, under the auspices of Holbein, and afterwards Inigo Jones, in England; and about a century previously in Italy, under Ghiberto and Brunelleschi. In the latter, Vaulting obtained able friends, but from the piers in Covent Garden, which support merely a wooden vault, and from part of the Vaulting of Lincoln's Inn Chapel, it may be presumed that the builder of "the handsomest barn in England" was no great adept in the mystery of Vaulting.

Nicholas Stone destroyed many valuable manuscripts belonging to the Society of Free Masons. Perhaps his master, Inigo Jones, thought that the new mode, though dependent on taste, independent of science, and, like the Caliph Omar, held what was agreeable to the new faith useless, and what was not, ought to be destroyed.

The contracts for the erection of the Vaulting of King's College Chapel, Cambridge, are in an account of the Chapel by Malden; and in the *Anecd. of Paint.* by Walpole, Vol. I. Append. third edit. In Dugdale's *Monast.* Vol. III. p. 162, is an agreement between the Commissioners of Richard Duke of York and William Harwood, Free Mason, for the rebuilding of the Chapel in the College of Fotheringhay, Northamptonshire. And in Ashmole's *Hist. Gart.* p. 136, is an agreement with Hylmer and Vertue, Free Masons, for the building the choir of St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

In Malden's *Account of King's College Chapel, Cambridge*, Dr. Henry's History, and a *Treatise on Masonry* by William Preston, 1792, some account of the Free Masons, as relating to the subject of building, may be found. They appear to have been known in England about the beginning of the seventh century. They are said to have introduced the art of building in stone, and that the art of constructing walls to resist the thrust of a stone vault was their original mystery. It is more reasonable to suppose, that the art of building stone walls is as old as stone quarries, than that this society is as ancient as Solomon's Temple. About the beginning of the seventeenth century, the art "de la coupe des pierres" was still held a secret, and the possessors of this mystery were called the "Cotterie." Maturin Jousse called his treatise, from this circumstance, "*Secret d'Architecture.*"

OF PENDENT RIBBED VAULTS.

The Free Masons were not unmindful of the advantages arising from hemispherical Vaulting; and it is perhaps a happy circumstance that the form of their arch compelled them, in all cases, to obtain the property of the Welch arch. Fig. 23 resembles the Vaulting to the great Kitchen of the Monastery of Durham Cathedral: Fig. 24, that of the Chapter-House of York. The ingenious positing of the ribs, especially in the first example, is particularly deserving of attention, as being out of the road of common practice, and exhibitory of a correct knowledge of the sphere. The people of Yorkshire fondly admire, and justly boast of their Cathedral and Chapter-house. The principle of Vaulting at the Chapter-House may be admired, and imagined in stone; not so the Vault of the nave; it is manifestly one of those sham productions, which cheat where there is no merit in deceiving.

In this hasty retrospect of Architecture, the more the mind has been exerted in an examination of the skill, ingenuity, and science displayed in the Edifices constructed since the general adoption of the Arch, or disgusted or pleased by the concomitant Architecture, whether in the buildings of the modern, middle, Justinian, or Augustan ages; the more refreshing is the rest, when, quitting the laborious inquiry, it contemplates the easy and simple Architecture of Greece, exhibited in the publications of Mr. Wilkins, Stuart, and the Dilettanti Society.

Fig. 1.

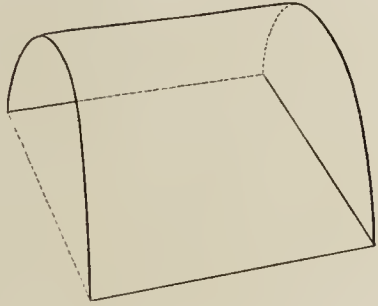


Fig. 4.

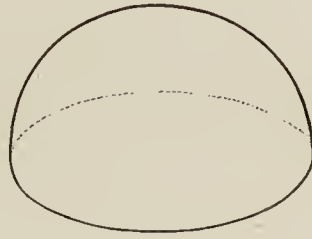


Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.

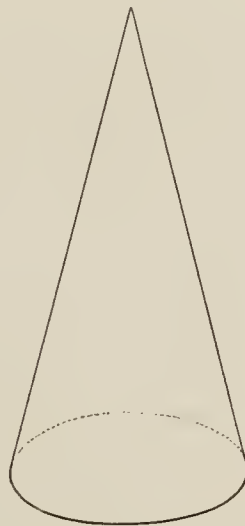


Fig. 5.

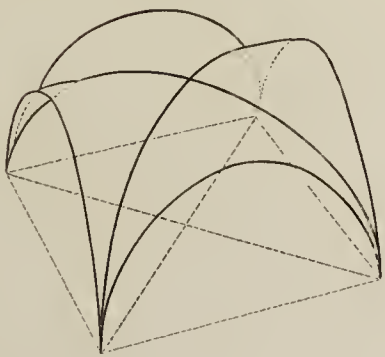


Fig. 6.

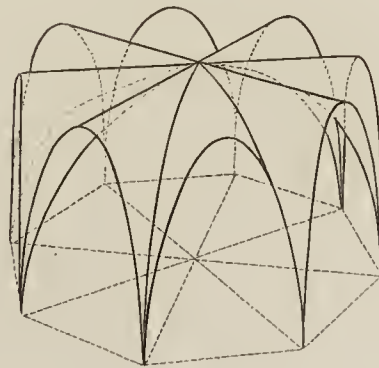


Fig. 7.

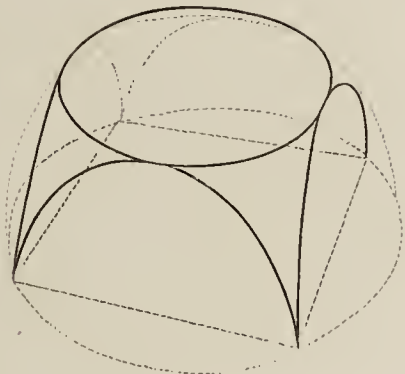


Fig. 8.

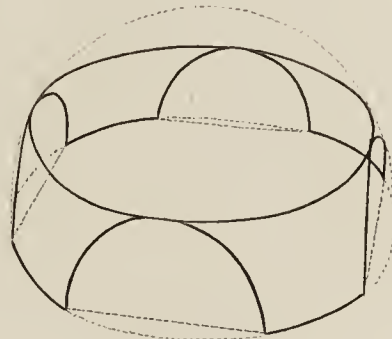


Fig. 9.

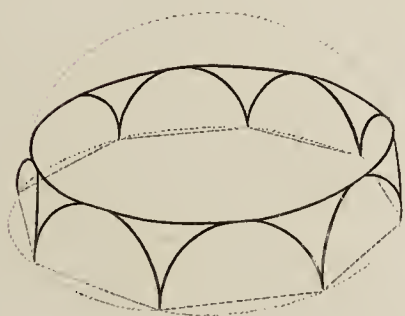


Fig. 10.

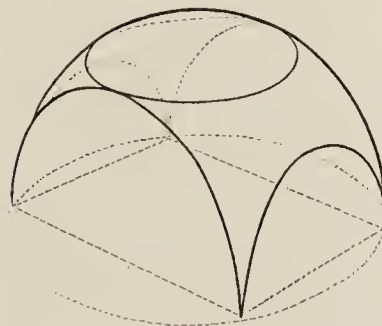


Fig. 12.

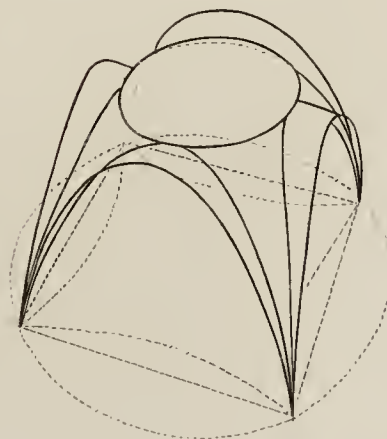


Fig. 11

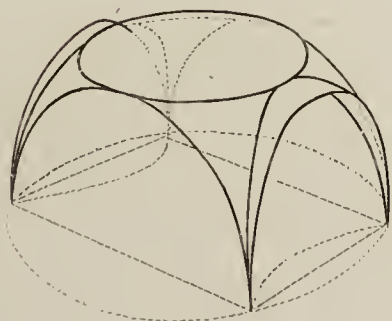


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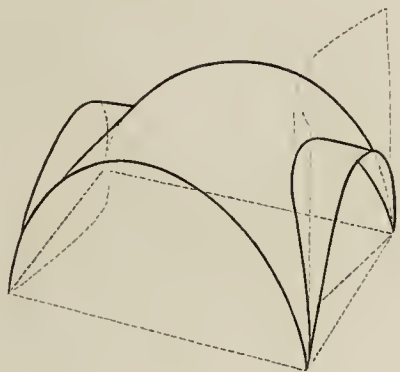


Fig. 14.

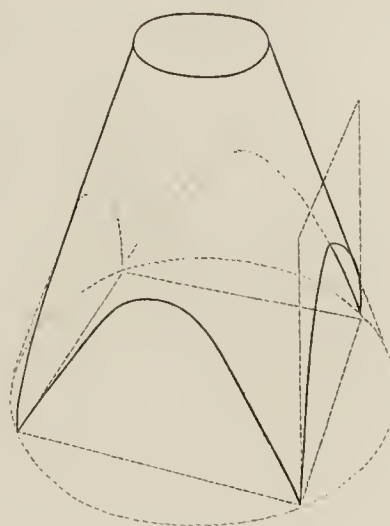


Fig. 15.



Fig. 16.

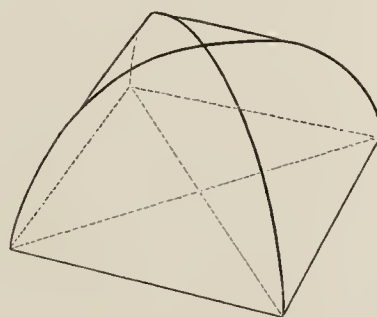


Fig. 17.

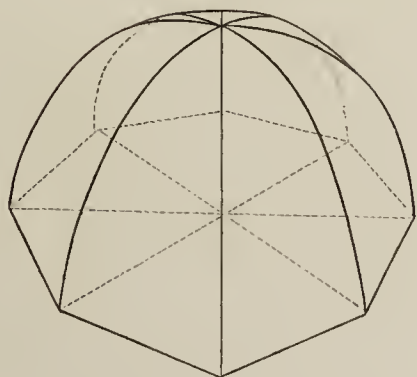


Fig. 18.

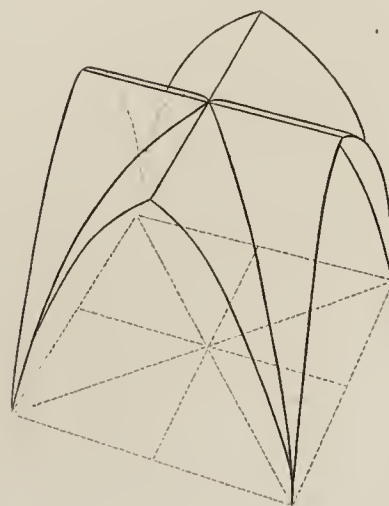


Fig. 19.

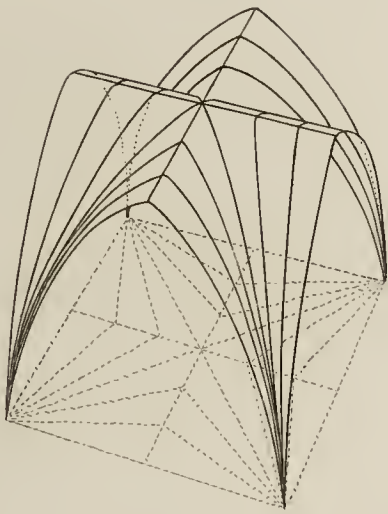


Fig. 20.

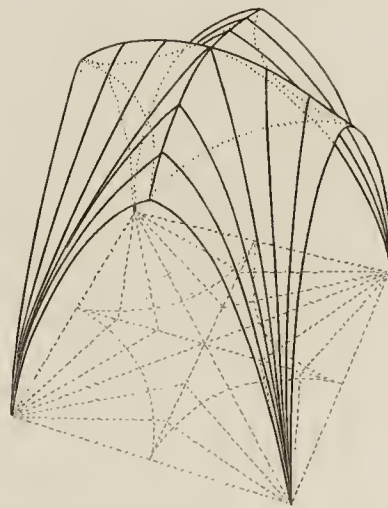


Fig. 21.

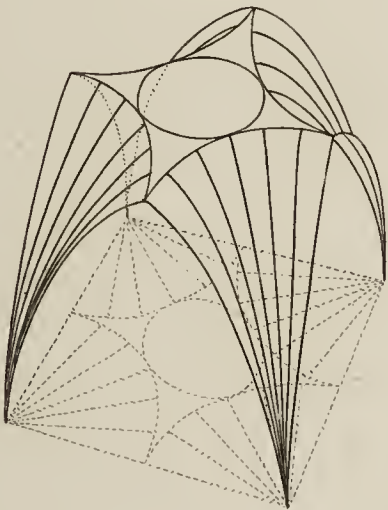


Fig. 22.

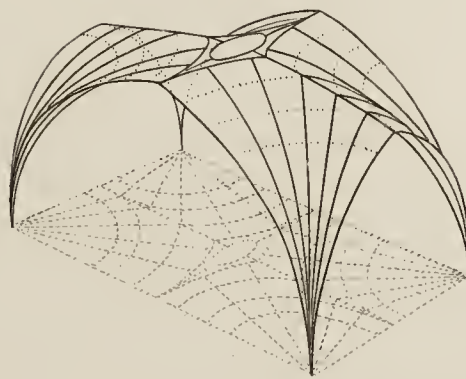


Fig. 23.

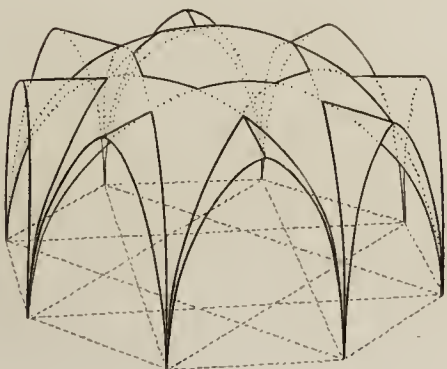
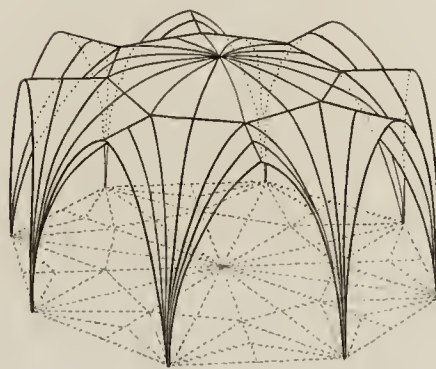


Fig. 24.



IV. *Translation of a Memoir on the celebrated Tapestry of Bayeux, by the Abbé de la Rue. Communicated by the Translator, Francis Douce, Esq. F. A. S. with a Letter to the Secretary, Nicholas Carlisle, Esq.*

Read 12th November, 1812.

DEAR SIR,

Charlotte Street, 20th Oct. 1812.

OUR learned and worthy member, the Abbé de la Rue, Professor of History in the Academy of Caen, having transmitted to me an interesting Memoir on the celebrated Tapestry of Bayeux, which represents the Conquest of England by the Normans, I have sent you a Translation of it to lay before the Society; and have taken the liberty of adding a few Notes, which I hope will be found appropriate.

I am, dear Sir,

Very faithfully yours,

FRANCIS DOUCE.

NICHOLAS CARLISLE, Esq.
Sec. A. S. &c. &c.

IT is now a considerable time since the Republic of Letters became acquainted with an ancient monument of Embroidery, representing the Conquest of England by the Normans, which had been for many ages preserved in the Cathedral of Bayeux, and is at present deposited in the Mayor's house of that city. Montfaucon, in his *Monuments of the French Monarchy*, Lancelot, in his *Memoirs* published among those of the Academy of Inscriptions, and Ducarel, in his *Anglo-Norman Antiquities*, have commented more or less on this piece of Tapestry, a work at once precious with respect to our civil history and the fine arts.

A new degree of publicity has of late been given to this curious monument, by exposing it for some months to the inhabitants of the French capital; and in the course of this exhibition it has been examined by the antiquaries with considerable attention. Some of these, adopting the opinions of Lancelot and Montfaucon, have ascribed it to Matilda the queen of William I.; whilst others have regarded it as a monument of a posterior time. It remains, therefore, to ascertain which of these opinions is the most probable; and it appears to me that the discussion of this question more particularly belongs to the natives of Normandy; for, if the Tapestry be really interesting, who ought to be better acquainted with it than its present proprietors? And, inasmuch as their ancestors have achieved the memorable actions which it records, is it not more immediately from them that the literati of Europe have a claim to expect every kind of information that may conduce to throw light on it? Under this impression, therefore, it is, that I have taken upon me to make some researches concerning the works of art that were given by Duke William and his wife to the principal churches in the diocese of Bayeux, that is to say, to the Cathedral and to the two Abbies which they founded at Caen. It will be for the Society of Antiquaries to appreciate the merit of these enquiries. If they should perchance invalidate the authority of two such celebrated antiquaries as Montfaucon and Lancelot, it will be because no authority whatever can prevail against truth. Men too often indulge in conjecture, and consequently bewilder themselves; whilst truth, the daughter of time, remains in the shade: but when she is developed to mankind, opinions vanish, authorities fall to the ground, and truth, bursting forth in all her brilliancy, remains immoveably fixed upon the ruins of various systems.

Most of the Norman historians, that is to say, Ordericus Vitalis, William of Jumieges, William of Poitiers, and Robert Du Mont, attest the foundation of the two abbies at Caen by William I. and his wife: they speak of the rich inheritances and the precious donations conferred on these monasteries; but they have not been sufficiently explicit to enable us to form any judgment of the nature or value of these gifts: and yet, without the aid of the Norman writers whose works have

been printed, we may perhaps be enabled to acquire more information from those authors who still remain unpublished.

In a manuscript copy of the History of Normandy by William of Jumieges, preserved in the Harleian collection in the British Museum,^a there is, at the end of this historian, a pretty circumstantial account of the death of William the Conqueror in 1087. The author is not named; but, to judge from the age of the MS. he may have lived in the twelfth century. He exhibits the Duke on his death-bed, surrounded by his brother Robert, the Archbishop of Rouen, with several of his suffragans, his chancellor, and his physician. The historian states, that Duke William, being greatly attached to his brother, and having the utmost confidence in him, commanded him to assemble his chamberlains, and direct them to lay before him an account of the precious contents of his treasury, which consisted, says he, of crowns, armour, vases, books, and sacerdotal ornaments. After this account had been taken, the dying prince particularized what he intended should be given to the church and to the poor, and what he bequeathed to his children.

But in the course of the above narration we find no details concerning what was to be bestowed on the church or on the poor: the author particularizes nothing: he simply states that the testator bequeathed a crown, a sword, and a sceptre of gold enriched with precious stones to his second son William, who succeeded him on the throne of England.

We have no reason, however, to regret that the historian has been so brief concerning the above legacies: and first, because, in the view that he has given of the prince's treasures, the Tapestry, which is the object of our notice, does not occur: and again, because the legacies that he has specified are not accurately stated.

He has affirmed, for example, that the Conqueror bequeathed to his second son his sceptre, sword, and crown; but, on consulting the *Neustria Pia*, I find a deed of exchange between William Rufus and the monastery of Caen,^b from which it appears, 1. that Duke William,

^a Harl. MSS. N° 491.

^b *Neustria Pia*, p. 638.

when on his death-bed, bequeathed to the abbey of Saint Stephen the crown which he wore at church on solemn festivals, his sceptre, his royal staff, a cup made of some precious stone, candelabra of gold, and all the royal ornaments appertaining to the crown. 2. That King William II. negotiated concerning all these articles with the monks of Saint Stephen, and that he gave them in exchange the lordship of Coker, in the county of Somerset. Now, although the King has put his signature to this deed, which is witnessed by the bishop and barons of his court, a severe critic might be disposed to regard it as a suspicious instrument, because the death of the Conqueror is dated in 1088, whereas it happened in 1087; but surely we ought not to cavil with respect to an error which necessarily belongs either to the copyist or the printer; for who could be better acquainted with the precise time of the Conqueror's death than they who had been the witnesses of it; and how therefore could they have been mistaken on this occasion?

It will perhaps be imagined that the above exchange was completed, and that we are about to pursue the royal ornaments of William thus deposited in the hands of his second son; but this is not the case. The prince last named died in 1100, and the crown and royal ornaments were still in the possession of the monks of Caen under the reign of his brother, Henry I. We have several charters of this King, which attest that it was he who made the exchange with the monks. He refused to give them the lordship of Coker promised by his brother, but he confirmed to them that of Brideton, in the county of Dorset; "and this," as he said, "because the monks have restored to me the crown and royal ornaments, which my father bequeathed to them on his death-bed;" *pro coronâ cæterisque ornamentis eidem coronæ adjacentibus, quæ pater meus moriens prædicto dimisit Sancto Stephano.*^c

Let me be permitted to observe in this place, that the deed of exchange of William Rufus, and the charters of Henry I. his brother, are not at variance with each other. The first is signed by the King, and a great many English Bishops and Barons. It was therefore exe-

^c Chartular. S. Stephani Cadom. p. 22. et Cartæ antiquæ turris Londin.

cuted in England; but as one of the objects exchanged was in Normandy, the exchange was agreed on and signed, but never consummated. In the interval necessary for delivery of the royal ornaments, the King died. Every one knows that he was slain when hunting, by the carelessness of one of his Courtiers:^d afterwards, Henry I. his successor completed the exchange; and this very simple explanation, founded upon history, ought to remove every doubt that might be raised concerning the diplomatic instruments prepared by the two princes for the same purpose. Besides this, Duke Richard Cœur de Lion, in a charter concerning the priory of Frampton, a cell belonging to the Abbey of Saint Stephen at Caen, recites the deed of exchange made by his grandfather Henry I. and confirms it. Every doubt, therefore, on this head is thus dissipated.^e

We now clearly perceive that the royal ornaments reverted to the crown of England by an authentic convention between the Conqueror's children and the monks of Caen to whom he had bequeathed them: but we no where find that the Tapestry of the church of Bayeux made any part of the agreement. The deed of exchange of William Rufus specifies all the articles, and that which we are in quest of is not to be found among them. The charters of Henry I. only mention the crown, and the royal ornaments belonging to it, *pro coronâ*, &c. and it is not easy to perceive how a piece of Tapestry, more than two hundred feet in length, could form part of the ornaments of the prince's person. Besides, even though we should suppose that it did make a part of them, which is not to be admitted, it would still remain to be proved that Henry I. afterwards gave it to the church of Bayeux, which has not been done. In such a case it would be necessary to argue that out of pure caprice he redeemed it from one church to bestow it on another—that, in opposition to his father's testament, which had directed that this representation of his victories

^d The common story about Walter Tyrrel will admit of some doubt as to its veracity. The Abbot Suger relates that Tyrrel assured him, in the most solemn manner, that he had not seen the King on the fatal day, nor even entered the forest in which he was slain. See *Vie de Louis le Gros*, tom. xii. p. 12, of the *Recueil des Historiens de France*. D.

^e Monast. Angl. vol. i. p. 571.

should decorate the spot where his ashes were to lie, the son had thought fit to snatch away, as one may term it, this monument so peculiarly adapted to ornament his tomb. All these suppositions, therefore, instead of being natural, are clashing and offensive: they are, moreover, injurious to the memory of Henry I. who expended great sums of money in erecting over the Conqueror's body a monument that was worthy of him.

Let us now take an historical view of the Cathedral of Bayeux. Duke William and his court assisted at the dedication of it in 1077. If the Tapestry had been then finished, here was a singular opportunity to have made a donation of it: but it no where appears to have been done at this time. Two MSS. of the thirteenth century, entitled, *Leges et Consuetudines Sanctæ Baiocensis Ecclesiæ*, which are in my own library, have given many important details concerning the history of this Cathedral: but when they mention the right of the Bishop and Canons in the forest of Ele, the author, who was himself one of the dignitaries of the church, says that this forest was bestowed on them by the Conqueror on the day of its dedication; and that, as a token of delivery of seizin, he placed and left upon the altar the helmet that he then wore, surmounted with a crown of gold.

Nothing, therefore, has yet occurred relating to the Tapestry.

The majestic Cathedral of Bayeux, erected at a vast expense, and consecrated with so much pomp, did not long exist. In the year 1106, after a tedious siege, Henry I. took the city by assault from Duke Robert his brother. He had in his pay a great number of foreigners, whom the length of the siege had much irritated: he stood in need of their assistance to subjugate Caen and the rest of Normandy; and to attach these persons to him, he promised them the pillage of Bayeux; and he kept his word. But the soldiers were not contented with the plunder; they set fire to the city, and what had escaped their ravages, perished in the flames.

If the *Tapestry* had then existed in the treasury of the Cathedral, it would, in all probability, have been consumed in the general conflagration. Our Norman historians have preserved no details of this historical event; but nearly all of them wrote under the reign of the

author of the calamity: they might, therefore, have thought fit to exculpate his memory on this occasion; and it has often happened that a sovereign prince has checked the pen of the historians whom he governed.

But, although despotism may, generally speaking, arrest the progress of the graving-tool of history, it is equally true that there is oftentimes to be found some unfortunate victim of its influence, who fears nothing, and risks every thing. A Canon of Bayeux, named Serlon Parisy, whose goods had been pillaged, and his house set on fire, mocking the victor's hatred, and sitting, as one might say, upon the very ashes of the city, composed a poem of four hundred lines on its misfortunes. This work, in Latin rhyme, according to the taste of the time, is preserved among the Cotton MSS. in the British Museum.^f Let us then consult this eye-witness. It would be needless to state what he has said concerning the beauty of the bishop's palace, constructed by Odo, the Conqueror's brother; or concerning the houses of the canons, and the various hôtels of opulent individuals. All was pillaged or burned; even the ducal palace, which was placed within the citadel, was committed to the flames. But, what is worthy to be mentioned, and what the poet has recorded, the Cathedral itself, and ten other churches, were also destroyed by fire.

Hac fuit usta die sacra virginis aula Mariæ,
Templaque bis quina simili periere ruina.

That these temples were pillaged before they were burned is also an incontestable fact. Dr. Stukeley has published some account of an ancient silver plate or basin, found in the year 1729 in Risley Park, in the county of Derby.^g Round a basso relievo, that ornaments the bottom of it, is this inscription, in uncial letters, *Exuperius episcopus dedit ecclesiæ Bagiensi*. I set aside the conjectures of the above antiquary, who has confounded Saint Exuperius of Toulouse with Exuperius bishop of Bayeux; and substituted the church of Bougé in Touraine for that of Bayeux in Normandy. It seems clear to me, that this an-

^f Vitell. A. XII.

^g Pilkington's Hist. of Derbyshire.

tique vessel had been taken from the latter church at the sacking of Bayeux in 1106.^h

It may probably be objected, that the testimony of Serlon Parisy is that of an interested person, soured by adversity, consequently writing *ab irato*, and to whom one might very justly apply the *facit indignatio versum* of Horace. Let us therefore listen to another historian of a calmer nature, who lived in the same century, and was likewise a Canon of Bayeux. On this account he was likely to be well informed, and wrote besides at the command of Henry II. the grandson of Henry I. who had directed the city to be pillaged. Far from suspecting that he may have overcharged the picture, we ought rather to suppose that he has confined himself within the limits of the strictest veracity. It is, in short, Robert Wace to whom I allude. He tells us, that the army of Helie, Count of Maine, being arrived for the purpose of reinforcing that of Henry I. then before Bayeux,

Le bore firent tot alumer,
 Donc veissiez flambe voler,
 Chapeles ardeir et mostiers,
 Maisons trebucher et celliers,
 Et liglise de levesquié
 Ou moult aveit riche clergié
 Tote fut liglise destruite
 Et la richesse fors conduite.

So that, according to Wace, the Cathedral was burned, and its treasury pillaged and dispersed. How, therefore, amidst the devouring flames, and an army occupied in plunder, could the *Tapestry* of Bayeux, had it then existed, have escaped destruction?

I shall perhaps be answered, that many other monuments, and even of greater antiquity, have been preserved to this day in the Cathedral

^h The learned author of the Memoir has here substituted a most probable opinion for the wild dreams of Dr. Stukeley, who, though he had been set right seven years before he transmitted his account of this piece of antiquity to the Society of Antiquaries, persevered in his mistake. He has read BOGIENSI for BAGIENSI, a word that occurs on the Bayeux Tapestry for that city. The whole inscription yet remains to be accurately read. It certainly denotes that the Bishop of Bayeux gave this ancient vessel to his own church. D.

of Bayeux; such as the chasuble of Bishop Saint Regnobert, and the chest of ivory, covered with Arabic inscriptions, that contains it. But this does not invalidate my objection. I conceive that, at the burning of the church, many persons would instantly fly to save a monument revered by the faithful; that the soldier himself would retire before this relic. Such a mode of conduct was in the spirit of the times. But where would be the soldier in this army, that would pay respect to a piece of Tapestry whereon were depicted the achievements of those very Normans against whom he was fighting? I know not if I mistake, but hitherto nothing seems to have occurred which demonstrates that the Tapestry in question was the workmanship of Queen Matilda, as has been so positively affirmed. On the contrary, there is good reason for asserting, that if the Tapestry actually was at Bayeux in 1106, the preservation of it, after the ravages that have just been enumerated, might be deemed almost miraculous.

But let us pursue our researches. Queen Matilda died in 1083. Her will, hitherto unpublished, is in the Imperial library of Paris, in the register of the Abbey of the Holy Trinity at Caen, founded by herself. We shall see whether this document will afford us any useful information. "I give," says the testatrix, "to the Abbey of the Holy Trinity, my tunic, worked at Winchester by Alderet's wife, and the mantle embroidered with gold, which is in my chamber, to make a cope. Of my two golden girdles, I give that which is ornamented with emblems for the purpose of suspending the lamp before the great altar. I give my large candelabra, made at Saint Lo, my crown, my sceptre, my cups in their cases, another cup made in England, with all my horse-trappings, and all my vessels except those which I may have already disposed of in my life-time; and lastly, I give the lands of Quetchou in Cotentin,ⁱ with two dwellings in England. And I have made all these bequests with the consent of my husband."^k

This Will must have been made in 1083, the year of Matilda's death, for her husband's charter of 1082, which recites all the donations made by himself and his wife to the above abbey, makes no mention of the

ⁱ In Normandy. D.

^k Chartul. S. Trin. Cadom.

lands of Quetchou given by the will; so that the Queen gave all to her abbey, except such vessels as she reserved the disposal of during her life. Nothing is said about any Tapestry; and the silence of the will on this subject is sufficient to prove that it never was in her possession: it must otherwise be maintained, that she had already disposed of it, which cannot be done with any semblance of probability. The Tapestry is, in fact, an *unfinished* work. One may perceive, towards the **extremity** of it, marks or traces for the last events of the battle of Hastings; men flying; knights pursuing them; &c. The sequel would have represented the victors marching to London, and their chieftain crowned at Westminster. All these details, therefore, being wanting in the Tapestry, how can we suppose that Matilda would have abandoned it, when so little remained for its completion: and more especially, when it was necessary to depict the circumstances of the moment most interesting to her, that is to say, her own coronation, and that of her husband? In short, how are we to credit that she would have deposited in the great church, as an historical monument, a work that did not represent the whole of the events?

Thus, then, does the evidence of history, and even probability itself, rise up against the supposed donation of the Tapestry to the Cathedral of Bayeux by Queen Matilda. Let us, in the next place, examine the Tapestry itself, and endeavour to ascertain whether it may not supply us with positive evidence against this pretended work of that princess.

Lancelot, in two learned dissertations, has pretty well explained the several circumstances of the expedition which it exhibits: but it is to be observed, that he has generally accomplished this by means of the poems of Robert Wace. For this purpose he had transcribed all the works of that writer, with the several variations in the MSS. and, as Wace has taken upwards of two thousand lines to describe the conquest of England, entering into the minutest and most circumstantial details of that event, it was impossible that Lancelot could have chosen a better guide. It must nevertheless be conceded, that he has not been extremely grateful to him: he has even depreciated his

merit, by asserting that he had taken his historical descriptions from the Tapestry alone. It is true that Robert Wace was a Canon of the Cathedral of Bayeux, and that, during the last half of the twelfth century, he wrote a poetical history of the Dukes of Normandy. But when he treats *ex professo* of the conquest of England by the Normans, in which case he had the very best opportunity of mentioning the Tapestry, strange to tell! he says not a single word about it. He nevertheless cites his authorities; he even names the witnesses whom he had consulted. What an authority then, what a witness would this Tapestry have been, had it been the performance of Matilda? Of what importance should it not have been in the eyes of a Canon of the Church to which she had given it? What an occasion for an historian to celebrate at once the hero of the conquest and the wife who had perpetuated its remembrance in a monument, the workmanship of her own hands? In a word, for a poet who has suffered no motive for indulging adulation to escape him, and who was writing at the command of the great grandson of Matilda, what moment could be so favourable for enhancing the merit of the work, the patience of its fair author, and the glory of the church that possessed it? I may perhaps be mistaken; but when the historian is silent; when the poet forgets that painting and poetry are sister arts; when the Canon loses sight of the honour of his church; and when man, who delights in flattery, remains mute, every thing appears to me imperiously to demonstrate, that the Tapestry was not existing at that time in the Cathedral of Bayeux. But what enables me to convert into a positive argument the negative proof that I have been endeavouring to maintain, is, that the historian, so far from being indebted to the Tapestry for the events which he relates, is frequently at variance with those which it represents.

The Tapestry, for example, exhibits in the middle of the fleet the ship on which Duke William is aboard. On its prow is the head of a lion, and its stern is decorated with the figure of a genius who holds a trumpet to his mouth with his left hand. Lord Lyttelton, in the Appendix to the first book of his History of Henry II. has given an extract from an ancient manuscript in the British Museum, the author

of which says, that Matilda had caused the vessel to be built which carried her husband, and that its prow was ornamented with the figure of a little boy in gold, pointing with his right forefinger towards England, and holding to his mouth with his left hand an ivory trumpet. Thus the Tapestry agrees in part with the historian.

Wace, on the contrary, says that the above figure was placed at the prow; and, instead of giving him a trumpet, he arms him with a bow, from which an arrow is directed towards the English shore.¹ This remark may indeed be of small importance, and yet the difference between the description of the Tapestry and that of the poet incontestably proves, that the designer has not copied the poet, nor the poet the Tapestry: that Wace had not seen the Tapestry; and, consequently, that it did not exist in his time; or, if it did exist, that the design was not regarded by him as exact. It follows, therefore, that it was not the work of Matilda; for if it had been so, who should have been better able than herself to depict a ship that she had caused to be constructed, or for what reason would the poet have rejected her authority? Lancelot was in general too good a critic not to have availed himself of this difficulty; but he had adopted, without examination, the tradition which ascribes the Tapestry to Matilda; and whenever Wace's authority is adverse to his own opinion, instead of weighing and discussing this authority, he silently rejects it.

Another circumstance, which completes the proof that the poet was unacquainted with the Tapestry, is, that the latter exhibits events of which the former makes no mention; facts that have escaped nearly all our historians, and for which reason Lancelot, and all who have written concerning this monument, have left them unexplained. As for example: When the two armies are confronted, the Tapestry repre-

¹ I cannot in this place resist the impulse of suggesting to the Society, what a valuable addition to our antiquarian history would be obtained by an extract, with an English translation and explanatory notes, of that part of Wace's work, which describes the Conqueror's expedition. It is impossible to conceive any thing more curious in all respects. A painter might without difficulty compose a series of interesting pictures from the details; and a fleet similar to William's, in all respects, might again be fitted out from the poet's description. I beg leave to add, that the invaluable MS. of this work is in the British Museum. D.

sents the minstrel Taillefer throwing up his sword, and chanting the exploits of Charlemagne and Roland, whilst to his song he adds the juggling tricks of his profession. He catches the sword with so much address that the astonished English regard his efforts as a prodigy, and the effect of enchantment, as is related by Geoffrey Gaimar, in his *History of England*.^m Here then is a fact unknown to

^m An extract from this account by Gaimar has been already printed in *Archaeol.* vol. XII. p. 312; but as this seems the more proper place for its introduction, I shall give the passage at large.

Un des Franceis donc se hasta,
Devant les altres chevalcha;
Taillefer ert cil apelez,
Joglere estait hardi asez.
Armes aveit e bon cheval,
Si ert hardiz e noble vassal.
Devant les altres cil se mist,
Devant Engleis merveilles fist,
Sa lance prist par e tuet,
Com si co fust un bastunet,
Encontre mont halt le geta,
E par le fer receve lá.
Trais fez issi geta sa lance,
La quarte feiz mult pres s'avance,
Entre les Engleis la lanca,
Par mi le cors un en naffra.
Puis treist s'espee, arere vint,
Geta s'espee kil tint,
Encontre mont puis la receit,
L'un dit al altre ki co veit,
Ke co estait enchantement,
Ke cil fesait devant la gent.
Quand treis faiz out gete l'espee,
Le cheval od gule baice,
Vers les Engleis vint a esleise,
Si sed' alguns, ki quident estre mange
Pur le cheval ki issi baiout,
Le juleor apris li out.
De l'espee fiert un Engleis,
Le poing li fait voler maneis,

Wace,ⁿ and yet depicted on the Tapestry. It follows, therefore, that the former had not consulted the latter; and can we conceive that this would have happened, if the Tapestry had then existed in the Cathedral of Bayeux?

Altre en fiert tant cum il pout,
 Mal guerdon le jor en out;
 Car les Engleis de totes parz
 Li lancent gavelocs e darz,
 Lui oscistrent e son destrer.

MS. Bibl. Reg. 13 A. XXI.

The circumstance of the minstrel's horse being taught to open his mouth, and seize on some of the enemy is infinitely curious, and related with great humour. It may also be regarded as a remarkable instance of the singularity and simplicity of ancient manners. I add, for the credit of the above writer, that he has given a more explicit narration than is to be found in any other ancient chronicle, of the interesting loves of Argentile and Curan, so exquisitely put into verse by old Warner in his Albion's England. D.

ⁿ To prevent any misconception of the Abbé de la Rue's meaning, I beg leave to observe that it was Taillefer's conduct as a juggling minstrel, in throwing up his sword only, that was unknown to Wace, as he has described the singing of the song about Charlemagne and Roland in his lives of the Dukes of Normandy. A few lines from this work have been given by Dufresne in his Latin Glossary, v. *Cantilena Rolandi*, where he improperly cites it by the title of *Roman de Rou*. The same extract has been also printed by Bishop Percy in his *Reliques*, and Mr. Ritson in his *Essay on National Song*: but as I am persuaded that no one will repent of the trouble of perusing the whole account, I shall here subjoin it from one of the Royal MSS. in the British Museum, 4 C. XI.

Taillefer qui mult bien chantout,
 Sor un cheval qui tost alout,
 Devant le duc alout chantant,
 De Karlemaigne et de Rolant,
 Et d'Oliver et des vassals,
 Qui morurent en Rencevals.
 Quant il orent chevalchie tant,
 Quas Engleis vindrent aperisment,
 Sire dist Taillefer, merci,
 Io vos ai longuement servi;
 Tot mon servise me devez,
 Hui se vos plaist le me rendez,
 Por toz guerredon vos requier,
 Et si vos voil forment preier.

We should greatly deceive ourselves, were we to suppose that the poet could have looked upon monuments in which the arts were concerned with indifference. In the first place, the Tapestry was an historical work, and, in this point of view, it could not but excite the historian's curiosity. Again, its details were so much the more calculated to interest the historian, as it was his object to describe the same events: and, finally, monuments of art not only did attract his attention, but he never failed to speak of them, when they conduced

Otreiez mei que jo ni faille
Le primier colp de la bataille.
Li dus respont, et je lotrei;
Et Taillefer point a desrei;
Devant toz les autres se mist,
Un Engleis feri, si l'ocist.
Desoz le piez, par mie la pance,
Li fist passer ultre la lance:
A terre estendu l'abati,
Pois traist l'espée, aultre feri:
Pois a crié, venez, venez,
Que faites vos, ferez, ferez.
Donc l'ont Engleis avironé,
Al segont colp qu'il out doné.

Bevoit, another Norman poet, who wrote a chronicle of the Dukes of Normandy, at the command of King Henry II. has thus briefly mentioned the exploits of Taillefer:

Uns Taillefer ce dit l'escriz,
I aveit mult grant pris conquis,
Mais il i fu morz e occis,
Tant esteit grant sis hardemenz,
Quen mi les presses de lor genz
Se colout autre si seur,
Cume s'il i fust clos de mur.
Epuis qu'il out plaies mortex,
Puis i fu il si proz e teus,
Que chevalier de nul parage
Ni fist le jor deus teu damage.

MS. Harl. 1717.

The figure of Taillefer in the Tapestry seems to have been omitted in the prints of it. D.

to exalt the glory of the Normans. He is thus the sole historian who has informed us that during the first crusade Duke Robert Court-hose^o had, in a battle with the Saracens, taken the superb standard of their general, and placed it in the Abbey of the Holy Trinity founded by his mother. Ought, therefore, the poet to have been silent with respect to a monument which would be the glory of this mother, had she, in imitation of her son, deposited it in the temple of the God of victories?

We will next examine the Tapestry itself, but without stopping to consider the form of the letters used in its inscriptions; for, at the time of its construction, the arts being in a barbarous state, characters were not executed with a needle as with a pen or a pencil. Let us rather attend to the style of the inscription; and it will then be seen that the Tapestry will shew itself to be of English manufacture, but not by the hand of Queen Matilda. When Duke William had delivered Harold from the prison of the Earl of Ponthieu, and conducted him to his own palace, the Tapestry shews that during their conference together a woman is engaged in conversation with an ecclesiastic. In the inscription this lady is called *Ælfgyva*, a name purely Saxon; it belonged to the Queens of the Anglo-Saxon dynasty. With this signification it is found in the register of Canterbury Cathedral, in the Saxon Chronicle, in William of Malmsbury, Ralph de Diceto, Florence of Worcester, &c. But in these several writers nothing is found to indicate what connexion with history this conference between *Ælfgyva* and the clerk might have had. Lancelot has conjectured that the lady is Matilda, to whom a clerk, on the part of the Duke, brings the news of Harold's arrival, and of the arrangements made with him for assuring the crown of England to her husband. There is indeed some pro-

^o Various are the epithets bestowed on this person. He is called Courthose, Courtheuse, Courtois, and Courtcuise. In favour of the nick-name of Court-cuisse, or short-thighs, it may be observed, that there was a French Legate from Charles VI. to Pope Benedict XIII. whose name was Jean Courtcuise (his Latin appellation being *Brevicoxa*.) The nick-name of Crook-back, setting aside the disputed one of Crouchback, is long anterior to the time of Richard III. Ordericus Vitalis, under the year 1077, mentions a Knight called Robert de Curvâ Spinâ. D.

bability in this opinion: but, on the other hand, the appellation of Queen is thereby given to Matilda before the conquest. Let us for a moment suppose this to be by anticipation, and lay the blame upon the artists: yet they could not be English workmen, who in a Latin inscription would make use of a word purely Saxon; and in this case Matilda cannot be placed among them. It is not probable that she would assume the title of Queen before her coronation, and still less so that she would take it from the Saxon language. She well knew her husband's orders for the abolition of that tongue, and his strict prohibition to make use of it in public acts. In vain has Lancelot maintained that it was through modesty that Matilda assumed this name of Ælfgiva, whilst, on the other hand, he has admitted that this title belongs only to Queens of the Anglo-Saxon race: there is a manifest contradiction in these opinions. In vain does he contend that Matilda declined putting her name to a work of her own hands, and that it is out of modesty that she designated herself under the appellation of Ælfgiva. Has that artist ever been accused of pride who has put his name to his own work; and especially a female, who had embroidered a piece of tapestry, the ordinary occupation of women? Besides, what could she suppose we were to understand by such a name as Ælfgiva in the history of the Conquest? Could we expect to see any other woman than the Conqueror's wife, when no female had been introduced in the expedition? Let us then reject this mysterious and contradictory opinion. It is evident that Norman artists would not have called their Duchess Ælfgiva: nor would she have used that name previously to her coronation, when she never took it after, as may be seen in the charters which occur in the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, in the *Neustria Pia*, and in the *Gallia Christiana*.^p

^p William had two daughters, whose names were Adela and Adeliza. May it not therefore, after all, be a mistake for one of these on the part of an English artist, who would confound the real name with the Saxon one of Ælfgiva? The Tapestry should be carefully examined, and the name accurately copied, to enable us to judge fairly. There is no admitting, with Lancelot, that Matilda could have been intended. It is natural to suppose, that one of William's daughters would be found in his palace on this occasion; and that one of his chaplains might announce to her what was going on. The lady in the Tapestry seems, indeed, in the attitude of surprize. D.

Another word employed in the inscription is that of *Wadard*. It refers to a man armed from head to foot, and placed as a centinel near three houses or magazines near the spot where Duke William is making his first repast after the descent. This name is neither Latin nor French. Lancelot supposes it to signify *a steward*, or *maitre d'hôtel*. It seems rather to mean a ward or centinel: but, whatever be its signification, it certainly belongs to the language of the Anglo-Saxons, and is a further proof that they are the authors of the Tapestry.^a

The same observation will apply to the word *Ceastra*, which means the castle erected at Hastings by the Conqueror. Lancelot discovers it to be *castra* in bad orthography; but it is never written otherwise in the Saxon Chronicle, and this circumstance contributes to the further developement of the Tapestry's origin.

Two other inscriptions conclude the proof that this is not a work of the Normans, nor more especially that of Matilda. The first of these is where Duke William causes his soldiers to make a feigned retreat, in order to compel the enemy the more to expose himself: we perceive the disorder occasioned by this movement, and also a ditch that is encountered by the Norman army.^r The inscription is, *hic Franci et Angli ceciderunt*. The second is where the Tapestry exhibits the moment of the victory, and describes it in these words, *hic Franci vicerunt et Angli terga dederunt*.

It is necessary to be well acquainted with the English historians, and with the charters of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, in order to know that, whenever they design to speak of the Normans they call them *Frenchmen*: but who will believe that the Normans should have called themselves *Frenchmen* on this Tapestry, when it is notorious that at this time they bore an open hatred to the French nation; and when such aversion, imported with them into England, became

^a The inscription, HIC EST WADARD, seems to mean, "this is the guard." *Deapð*, *Sax. D.*

^r This fact is thus corroborated by an anonymous writer, at least as old as the Tapestry: "Fecerant autem Angli foveam quandam prægrandem cauté et ingeniosé, quam ipsi ex obliquo curantes maximam multitudinem Normannorum in eâ præcipitaverant. Et plures etiam ex eis insequentes et tracti ab aliis in eadem perierunt." *Cotton MS. Cleop. A. XII. D.*

from thence the principal cause of that rivalry which has ever since existed between France and Great Britain? Who will believe that Normans, meaning to imprint on this Tapestry one of the most glorious pages of their history, would have sacrificed the honour of their name by transferring it to their enemies? In short, who will believe that Matilda, who knew better than any one the animosity that existed between the Normans and the French; who so well knew that the King of France, so far from encouraging this conquest, was desirous of frustrating it; who will, I say, believe that this Princess would, with her own hand, have introduced the name of the French instead of that of the Normans; that she would have ascribed to the former all the glory which the others had acquired under the command of her husband, and have entirely forgotten that she was herself a Duchess of Normandy, and at a time when her husband felt himself so proud of being its Duke, that he placed this title on his seal before that of King of the English? We must therefore either acknowledge all these inconsistencies, or rather devour all these absurdities, if we persist in maintaining that the Tapestry is of Norman workmanship, and especially that of Queen Matilda.

But let us pursue our examination of this monument. It is edged in its upper as well as its lower part by a border, which, like the rest, is worked with a needle. The artist had begun the lower border with a series of fables, which are to be found in the *Æsopian* collections: but after having worked ten or a dozen of these, they ceased all on a sudden, and continued this border, like that on the upper part, by representing quadrupeds, birds, sphinxes, minotaurs, and other monsters of the kind.

Whence then had the artists procured these fables, or from whom had they obtained precise information concerning them, when the works of *Æsop* were only made known to us in the fourteenth century, by means of the translation ascribed to the monk Planudes?

This objection, added to the foregoing difficulties, appears to me to warrant the entire rejection of that tradition which attributes the Tapestry to Queen Matilda. Not that I mean to say that the Normans were absolute strangers to the fables of *Æsop* before the time of

Planudes. I have already proved that, in the beginning of the twelfth century, Henry I. Duke of Normandy, translated into English a collection of Æsopian fables; and that from this work he acquired the surname of *Beauclerc*.^s This translation was afterwards, in the course of the thirteenth century, made public by Marie de France in French verse. The fables were therefore known above two centuries before the time of Planudes; but the Norman Duke, who made the first translation of them, performed his work, no doubt, by means of copies which had been imported from the East in the first crusade, which took place in 1096. At that time, however, Queen Matilda had been dead at least eighteen or twenty years: and this seems to me to shew, not only that the Tapestry was not made by her, but that it cannot be, at most, older than the twelfth century.

This was Mr. Hume's opinion; and in a point of history his authority is of a certain weight. He ascribed the Tapestry to Matilda, daughter of King Henry I. and the last shoot of the first family of the Dukes of Normandy. This Princess had married Henry V. Emperor of Germany. After the death of her husband, which happened in 1125, she returned to Normandy and became the wife of Geoffrey Earl of Anjou. From this alliance sprang the branch of Plantagenets, who reigned in England and in Normandy. Matilda should herself have reigned at her father's decease, but she was deprived of her right by the faction of Stephen, Earl of Boulogne, her nephew; and it was only reassumed by her son, Henry II. who reigned in her stead, whilst she herself is only known in the annals of our history by the name and title of the Empress Matilda.

Mr. Hume, in ascribing to her the Bayeux Tapestry, contents himself with stating this opinion, without entering into any detail as to the circumstances that might support it. Let us see then whether, after having protested against the tradition in favour of the first Matilda, we shall be able to defend the opinion which has been pronounced in favour of the second.

In the first place, to have undertaken this Tapestry would have

^s Archæol. Vol. XIII. p. 62.

required a considerable degree of interest in the subject of it, and to have possessed the necessary powers for its execution. Now who was more interested on this occasion than the Empress Matilda? Granddaughter of the Conqueror, and the last shoot of his family, she saw that the race of so many heroes, whose glory rested upon her head alone, would perish with herself; and in this case it was natural that she should endeavour to perpetuate the remembrance of the most signal of all their exploits. As to the means of effecting this purpose; daughter and mother of a King of England and Duke of Normandy; widow of an Emperor of Germany; and wife of an Earl of Anjou; who was more competent than herself to form such an enterprise, and carry it into execution?

It became necessary then to find artists; and England would supply them in abundance. The natives of that island were so renowned for the sort of work in question, that at this time, to express a piece of embroidery, they called it an *English work*. She could therefore insure it in a country where the Saxon language was still in use; for it is in vain for kings to command; their power vanishes before impossibilities; and there are no means of depriving a people of its maternal language. Hence then we may account for the Saxon terms in the inscriptions on the Tapestry. The artists might have introduced some of the Æsopian fables at the commencement of the lower border, as they were already become familiar to them, by means of the translation made by the Empress's father. The historian Wace would not have mentioned the Tapestry, because Matilda died in 1167, and he had begun his work about the year 1162; but the Empress dying before the Tapestry was finished, and no one afterwards feeling any interest in the work, it continued in its imperfect state, and might have been thus presented to the church of Bayeux, either by Henry II. the Empress's son, or by Richard Cœur de Lion, or John sans Terre, her grandsons. Wace might decline speaking of the sword which is seen in the air between the two armies: like other historians, he might choose to pass over these juggling tricks: but the English artists would by no means neglect a circumstance that had made such an impression on the minds of their ancestors, and of which, being so often

related to them in their infancy as a kind of prodigy, they were likely to have preserved the most indelible remembrance: the common people very seldom forget the wonderful parts of a story.

With that assistance too, we may easily explain why, in the inscriptions, the term *Frenchmen* should occur, rather than that of *Normans*. As these words are synonymous among all the English historians of that age, why should we not expect them to be so among artists and the common people? The writers of a nation usually determine the meaning of words belonging to its language. It would also require a well-informed person to furnish the designer of the Tapestry with the outline of the historical facts, and to dictate the Latin inscriptions relating to each event; and such a one would use the language of the learned of his country.

The opinion, therefore, which ascribes the Tapestry to the Empress Matilda, has no incongruity whatever; it has every probability in its favour, and is perfectly reconcileable with history, with language, and with the usages of those who would be employed in its manufacture.

There arises, and there can only arise, a single objection against the above opinion. This is the joint authority of Lancelot and Montfaucon: but inasmuch as their sentiments are founded on that tradition alone, which deposes in favour of the Conqueror's Queen, it remains only to examine how far this tradition is worthy of belief.

But, that I may not be accused of criticising too severely, I shall beg leave to borrow from an author, who in the last century best knew the means of penetrating into the mazes of antiquity, some of those rules that serve to distinguish a true from a false tradition.

"In order that a tradition may acquire a due degree of authority," says Freret, "it is requisite that the fact which it refers to should have been public and conspicuous." Now if it be sufficiently notorious that the Tapestry in question has, for several centuries, been deposited in the Cathedral of Bayeux, it is not equally so that it was given by Queen Matilda; for that is a matter on which the learned of the present time are not agreed.

"It is likewise necessary," continues Freret, "that the tradition

should ascend to the time of the events themselves; or at least that it be not possible to shew its beginning." Now that which we are examining wants much of reaching the eleventh century. Lancelot himself has supplied us with proof that it did not even exist at the commencement of the fifteenth. He had indeed made much inquiry at Bayeux, and sought after evidences. His correspondent informed him that nothing was to be found in the registry of the chapter-house of the Cathedral at Bayeux, except an inventory of the precious effects deposited in the treasury of the church, drawn up in 1476. Before I undertook the present memoir, I consulted the original of this inventory. It notices a mantle garnished with jewels, with which, *as it is said*, Duke William was invested on his wedding-day; and another mantle, with which, *as they say* likewise, the Duchess Matilda was clothed on her marriage with Duke William: and lastly, the helmet of Duke William, which has been mentioned towards the beginning of this memoir.

We have here then an authentic instrument concerning the preceding three articles, and witnesses who certify as to the tradition in their behalf; for it is subscribed by the first dignitaries of the Cathedral.

The same instrument has mentioned the Tapestry; but only as *a very long piece of cloth embroidered with figures and writing, representing the conquest of England*. It is not stated, as for the preceding articles, that it belonged to Duke William and his wife; nor that it was worked by Queen Matilda; nor that it was given to the church of Bayeux. This silence on the part of the compilers of the inventory evidently proves that there was then no tradition whatever concerning the Tapestry, since they have taken care to mention, and, in so doing, to preserve that which relates to the other preceding articles.

"It is necessary," adds Fréret, "that the tradition be uniform and general:" but we see that instead of its possessing these qualities, there existed in fact no tradition whatever at Bayeux concerning the Tapestry, in favour of Queen Matilda, in the year 1476.

And, in the last place, "it is necessary that the tradition should

agree with the positive testimonies of history;" and it has been seen that it can neither be reconciled with the Will of Queen Matilda, nor with the evidence of Robert Wace, nor even with the manners, usages, and language of the Normans.

It may indeed be answered, that historic tradition is nothing more than a sort of feeling which induces a people or a city to assent to the truth of a fact, without any other proof than its own persuasion, or that of preceding generations. I am not unwilling to assent to this definition. I will even believe, should it be required, that there does exist a tradition in favour of Matilda, which has all the requisites to render it credible; but I shall still contend, that a mistake has been committed in the selection of this Matilda. I shall insist that the people have erroneously confounded the grandmother with the granddaughter; that this confusion has more easily happened, inasmuch as it was perfectly natural that they should fix their ideas on the Conqueror's wife, when they beheld for the first time the monument which represents the most remarkable actions of her husband. I say *for the first time*, because the practice of publicly exposing the Tapestry every year in the Cathedral on the octaves of the feast of the relics still existed in 1790, but certainly was not known at Bayeux in the thirteenth century. The compiler of the collection of statutes and usages belonging to the above Cathedral, cited at the beginning of this memoir, has given an exact detail of the rites and ceremonies of each festival in the year; but he is silent with regard to the exhibition of the Tapestry, when treating of the feast of the relics and its octave. This practice, therefore, could not have been introduced earlier than the fourteenth century; and the error that I have been combating must have taken place about the time of its establishment: the people did not perceive, nor indeed could they have had in view any other person than the Princess who had reigned over them: they could not even have thought of the Empress Matilda, who having never ruled over Normandy, could not have left behind her in that country a remembrance of her person or her kindness that would be so durable as the monument in question.

It remains, therefore, for reason and sound criticism to decide, whether the Tapestry of Bayeux must continue to be regarded as a monument of the French nation.

DE LA RUE,

Professor of History in the Academy of Caen, and
Canon of Bayeux.

V. *King Charles the First's Warrant to Admiral Pennington to deliver the Fleet under his command to the French. Communicated by George Duckett, Esq. F. R. S. and S. A. in a Letter to the Secretary, Nicholas Carlisle, Esq.*

Read 17th May, 1810.

SIR,

Upper Grosvenor Street, 21st April, 1810.

As Mr. Hume, in his Observations upon the Conduct of King Charles the First and the Duke of Buckingham, seems to imply a doubt of the truth of the assertion, that was made at the time, namely, that Charles ordered the officer, who commanded the naval force employed against Rochelle, in 1625, to surrender the ships to the French Monarch, I take the liberty, first of inserting the passage, extracted from Mr. Hume's History, and, in the next place, of sending you a true copy of the original Warrant of King Charles the First, which warrant is in my possession.

“ When James deserted the Spanish alliance, and courted that of
 “ France, he had promised to furnish Lewis, who was entirely destitute
 “ of naval force, with one ship of war, and seven armed vessels, hired
 “ from the merchants. These the French Court had pretended they
 “ would employ against the Genoese, who, being firm and useful allies
 “ to the Spanish monarchy, were naturally regarded with an evil eye,
 “ both by the King of France, and of England. When these vessels,
 “ by Charles's orders, arrived at Dieppe, there arose a strong suspi-
 “ cion that they were to serve against Rochelle. The sailors were
 “ inflamed. That race of men, who are at present both careless and
 “ ignorant in all matters of religion, were at that time only ignorant.
 “ They drew up a remonstrance to Pennington, their commander;
 “ and, signing all their names in a circle, lest he should discover the
 “ ringleaders, they laid it under his prayer-book. Pennington de-

“clared that he would rather be hanged in England for disobedience,
“than fight against his brother Protestants in France. The whole
“squadron sailed immediately to the Downs; there they received
“new orders from Buckingham, Lord Admiral, to return to Dieppe.
“As the Duke knew that authority alone would not suffice, he em-
“ployed much art and many subtilties to engage them to obedience;
“and a rumour which was spread, that peace had been concluded be-
“tween the French King and the Hugonots, assisted him in his pur-
“pose. When they arrived at Dieppe, they found that they had been
“deceived. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who commanded one of the ves-
“sels, broke through, and returned to England. All the officers and
“sailors of all the other ships, notwithstanding great offers made them
“by the French, immediately deserted. One gunner alone preferred
“duty towards his King to the cause of religion; and he was after-
“wards killed in charging a cannon before Rochelle. The care which
“historians have taken to record this frivolous event, proves with
“what pleasure the news was received by the nation.” *Hume's His-
tory of Great Britain*, 8vo. 1773, Vol. VI. pp. 208, 9.

Mr. Hume, in another part of the same chapter (pp. 215, 16), ob-
serves, “That when the House of Commons accused Buckingham,”
amongst other charges, “of delivering ships to the French King, in
“order to serve against the Hugonots, all the articles appear, from
“comparing the accusation and reply, to be either frivolous, or false,
“or both. The only charge which could be regarded as important
“was, that he had extorted a sum of ten thousand pounds from the
“East India Company; and that he had confiscated some goods be-
“longing to French merchants, on pretence of their being the pro-
“perty of Spanish. The impeachment never came to a full determi-
“nation, so that it is difficult for us to give a decisive opinion with
“regard to these articles; but it must be confessed, that the Duke's
“answer in these particulars, as in all the rest, is so clear and satis-
“factory, that it is impossible to refuse our assent to it.” *Hume's
Hist.* 8vo. 1773, Vol. VI. p. 216.

The following is the Copy of the original Warrant.

“ CHARLES R.

“ PENNINGTON. These are to charge and command you,
 “ immediately upon sight hereof, that, without all difficulty and delay,
 “ you put our former commandment in execution, for the consigning
 “ of the shippe under your charge, called the Vantgarde, into the
 “ hands of the Marquis d'Effial, with all her equipage, artillery, and
 “ munition; assuring the officers of the said shippe, whom it may con-
 “ cern, that we will provide for their indemnity. And we further
 “ charge and command you, that you also require the seaven mar-
 “ chant shippes, in our name, to put themselves into the service of
 “ our dear brother, the French Kinge, according to the promise we
 “ have made unto him: and in case of backwardness or refusall, we
 “ command you to use all forceable means in your power to compell
 “ them thereunto, even to their sinking. And, in these severall
 “ charges, see you faile not, as you will answer the contrary at your
 “ uttermost perill, and this shall be your sufficient warrant. Given
 “ at our Court at Richmond, this 28 of Julie, 1625.

“ To our trusty and well beloved JOHN PENNINGTON,
 “ Capitaine of our Shippe called the Vantgarde.”

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

G. DUCKETT.

NICHOLAS CARLISLE, Esq.
 &c. &c.

VI. *Explanation of an antique Bacchanalian Cup, by the Rev. Stephen Weston, B. D. F. R. S. and F. A. S. In a Letter to the Marquis Townshend of Raynham, and Earl of Leicester, President.*

Read May 31, 1810.

MY LORD,

Edward Street, 30th May, 1810.

I EXHIBIT to your Lordship, and the Society, an antique Bacchanalian Cup, with figures in relief on it, which I will endeavour to explain.

The figures on this circular Cup of glazed pottery (*Pl. X.*) represent the constant flux and reflux of animated beings, arriving and departing, advancing and retiring, originating from water, and refreshed by wine.

They are grouped in pairs, and begin with a Triton, Neptune's trumpeter, blowing a horn, bearing a winged Cupid on his tail, and holding a vase, which he is pouring on the ground to the Panther departing from him. The next figure is a Panther with a female Bacchante on his back, holding a thyrsus in her right hand, and looking towards the Panther's head, which is turned to her. The next figure is the same Triton offering the cup or wine to the Panther returning to him. The subject itself may probably have existed on the frieze of some building dedicated to Bacchus, in a place that had on its coins a Medusa's head, which is at the bottom of the vase, such as we find on the money of Parium, and Neapolis in Macedonia. The elegant Arabesk ornament round the Cup occurs in the antique decorations of the Vatican by Raphael and his scholars.

The Panthers, or Lynxes, or Chetas of India, bear on them alternately a male and female. The Cupids are blowing a double flute; in two of them, one of the flutes appears to have been effaced, as is also the upper part of the tail of the Triton, which may be easily restored.

The history of the Cup of Bacchus, which we read of in Homer and Lycophron, informs us, that Vulcan presented Bacchus with a golden Cup, or Crater, in return for the hospitality shewn by Bacchus in the isle of Naxos, whither Bacchus had fled from the persecution of Lycurgus. This Cup Bacchus consecrated to Thetis, for her kind reception of him when he was driven out of Thrace, and obliged to cross the sea with his nurse Silenus and his drunken crew, for having intoxicated all Thrace by a too liberal communication of his lustral charm against sorrow, in the fruit of the vine, or juice of the grape, with which Rhea, or mother Earth, presented him, and which he first planted and propagated. In the scenery of the Theatres of the ancients, Bacchus was painted with a cup in his hand, pouring out wine upon a little panther lying at his feet. Thus also Nemesian, the Carthaginian poet, in Numerian's reign—"Lynci præbet cratera bibenti." The authorities are, Homer, *Il.* Ψ. v. 91. Χρύσεος ἀμφιφορεὺς. *Od.* Ω. v. 74. Διωνύσοιο δὲ δῶρον. And Scholiast. Lycophron, v. 273. Κρατῆρα Βάχχου. Macrobian *Somnium Scipionis*, lib. i. cap. 12. The old celestial sphere in Manilius, where the Cup is placed between Cancer and Leo. Nemesian, *Eclog.* iii. Hero on the shifting scenes of the ancients, and automaton figures, p. 243, Paris, 1693, inter *Mathematicos veteres*.

STEPHEN WESTON.





VII. *Observations on a Piece of Antiquity found at Selborne in Hampshire, on the estate of Mr. John White, late of Fleet Street, by Francis Douce, Esq. F. A. S.*

Read 20th June, 1811.

I HAVE the honour of exhibiting a piece of antiquity lately found at Selborne in Hampshire (*Pl. XI. fig. 1*), on the estate of Mr. John White, late of Fleet Street, and which I possess by the favour of its worthy and respectable owner.

I should not have introduced to the notice of the Society what may justly be regarded of very little importance, if it did not afford an opportunity of placing the subject in a new point of view, and of correcting the opinions which have been already hazarded concerning the nature of it. To some of these I shall first beg leave to advert.

I have not found any mention of the articles in question before the publication of Mr. Lewis's Dissertation on the Antiquity and Use of Seals, 1740; the author of which work supposed them to have been *parts of Roman military Standards*.

In Gardner's History of Dunwich, p. 67, is a figure of one that was found more entire than they usually occur. It differs from most others in having small copper medals, perhaps of the Apostles, attached to several holes on the sides of the circular part. This is given without any attempt at explanation, being simply called "an instrument with twelve holes;" and is only mentioned here on account of its singularity.

In Mr. Gough's Camden, Vol. I. p. 235, several are engraved, but without inscriptions. The editor denominates them *the antennæ or cross bars of the Roman Standard*. They were found at Reculver, and

that circumstance might possibly have tended to mislead the above truly learned and excellent antiquary.

Several, of different shapes, are given in Duncombe's History of Reculver, printed in Mr. Nichols's Bibl. Topogr. Brit. N° XVIII. They were all found at that place, and communicated to this Society in 1738 by Mr. Gostling of Canterbury. Among these is that which had been already engraved by Mr. Lewis, as above stated. Mr. Duncombe also had conceived them to be the *cross bars of the Roman vexilla*; and it is added, in a note, that Mr. Stennit of Boston, and some Members of the Society of Antiquaries, regarded them as *the yards of a ship*, referring to Bayfius's Treatise de Re navali, pp. 164, 168; others supposing them the *beams of scales or steel-yards*. To one of them there was some ornament attached, which is called a bell; but it seems to have a very small resemblance indeed to that implement.

Dr. Thomas Dunham Whitaker has given an engraving of one in p. 169 of his elegant work, "the History of Craven." It is one of the most perfect, with respect to preservation, of its kind, and is inscribed AVE . MARIA . GATIA . PLE . A . DOMINUS . TECVM . CREDO . IN . DEOM . PATRAM . OM Dr. Whitaker conjectured it to have been *used for religious purposes*.

Notwithstanding the above discordant opinions on the use of these articles, nothing is more clear than that they constitute the upper part of the pouches, purses, or wallets of former times, which were generally suspended to a girdle by means of a loop; and accordingly this loop is often found in the form of a swivel placed in the middle of a bar, to which a semicircular rim was attached, turning on two hinges, and forming the lid or cover of the purse. There was generally a second rim or frame, within the circumference of which, and by means of holes in it, the lower part of the purse or bag was fixed with threads or wires. Little money purses of morocco leather, made nearly in this fashion, are still sold in the shops. The custom of inscribing such sentences as AVE MARIA, &c. on articles for domestic and other purposes, is too well known to need any enlargement in this place.

In general, the letters found on these bars are inlaid in the brass

Fig. 1.



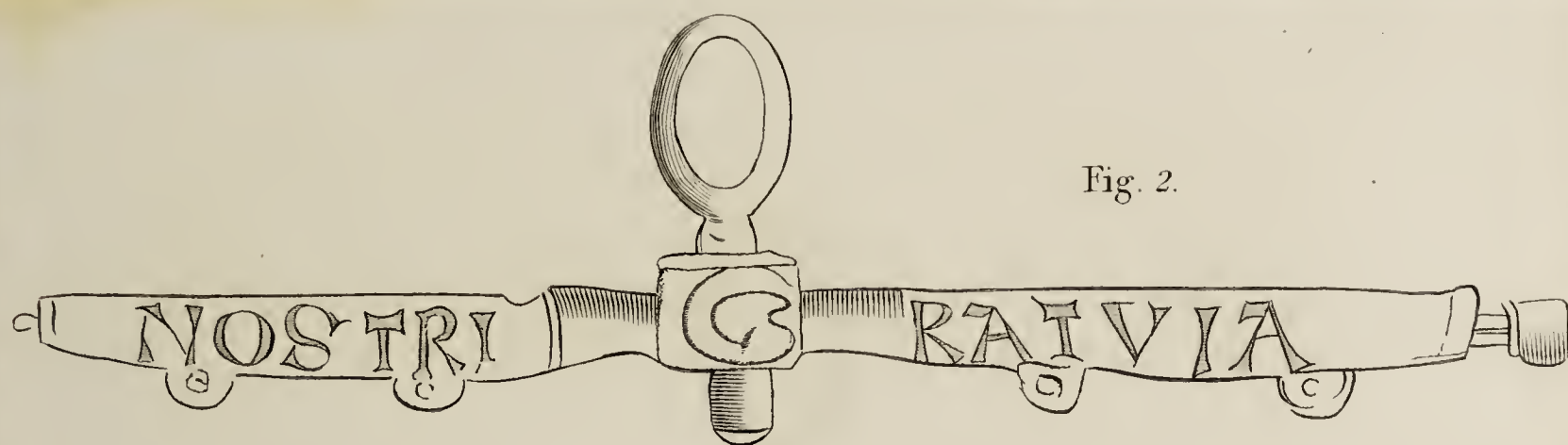


Fig. 2.

TV A9S 3 X EMENTIB

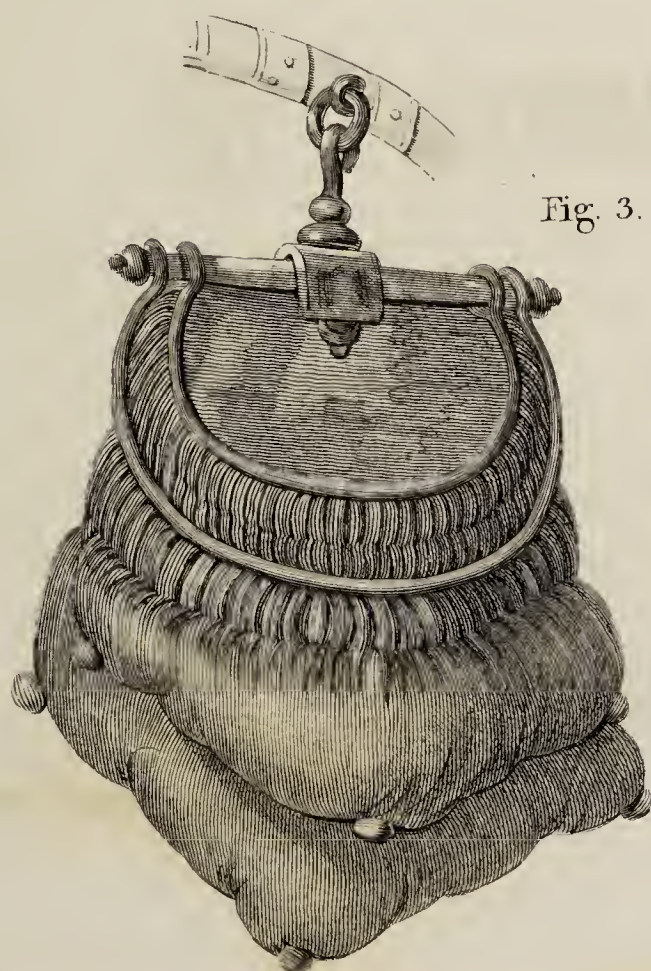


Fig. 3.

with another metal, now approaching to the nature and colour of lead, though originally designed to imitate silver. This is a fashion of considerable antiquity, as we find instances of it in some of the money weights of the lower Roman empire. From the form of the letters on several of the bars that I have met with, I think it possible that their antiquity may extend to Saxon times; but this opinion is very likely to be erroneous, when it is considered that such letters continued to be used, in many instances, so low as the beginning of the fourteenth century. The form however of the purses themselves remained to a much later period.

It would be useless, in corroboration of these remarks, to refer to paintings, &c., which cannot be easily consulted; but I shall take the liberty of requesting the attention of the Members of this Society generally to the materials they may possess, for the illustration of the subject before us; and content myself with adverting to one print that is very well known, or indeed needs only to be known in order to its being admired: I mean Albert Durer's engraving in copper of the Burial of Christ in the set of his Passion. At the girdle of the man who sustains the lower part of the body, one of these purses is suspended. The latest instance I have met with is in the portrait of John May the painter, in the collection entitled "The true effigies of the most eminent Painters," &c. 1694, folio; and for further satisfaction I have procured the very able assistance of our worthy member, Mr. Alexander, in delineating a purse of this kind in its perfect state (*Pl. XI. fig. 3*) on a small scale, and constructed from good authorities. The other drawing now exhibited (*Pl. XI. fig. 2*) was made from one of the bars belonging to these purses at present in the possession of Anthony Carlisle, Esq. of Soho Square, who most obligingly favoured me with the loan of it. The inscription on it, as in many other instances, is blundered; but the artist seems to have intended a motto something like V. M.^a GRATIA. TVA. MEMENTO. NOSTRI.

FRANCIS DOUCE.

^a Read *Virgo Maria*.

VIII. *Observations on an Inscription mentioned in the Statistical Survey of the County of Kilkenny. In a Letter from W. Tighe, Esq. to the Rev. Thomas Leman, M. A. F. A. S. by whom it was communicated to the Society.*

Read 30th May, 1811.

ECCLID 173J

MY DEAR SIR,

YOUR expressing a wish that I should put on paper a few observations which I made upon the Inscription, which I copied in 1801, and published in the Statistical Survey of the County of Kilkenny, is sufficient inducement to me to offer you the ideas that have occurred to me on the subject, though professing no knowledge as an antiquary, and having scarce any book to refer to: but, however otherwise incompetent, I have at least no theory or system to support.

It is necessary that I should first repeat what has been said as to the situation of the inscription. It is engraved on a stone which stands upon the summit of a high hill in the county of Kilkenny, nicknamed *Tory-hill*, but called in Irish *Sleigh-Grian*, i. e. "the Hill of the Sun."^a There is here a circular space, now covered with small loose stones, the larger ones having from time to time been rolled down the hill for the uses of the common people, as I was informed on the spot. There remains however one large stone near the centre; and there is an appearance of smaller ones having stood in a circle at a little distance from the heap, which is above sixty-five yards in cir-

^a See the *Survey of the County of Kilkenny*, p. 622.

cumference. Within the heap, and on its eastern side, is a stone raised on two or three unequal ones, and bearing the Inscription represented in the annexed plate. The letters are deeply and well cut, on a hard block of siliceous breccia (semiprotolite of Kirwan); the letters are two inches in height, with a space of one inch between each letter, and of three inches between the two words.

The stone itself is five feet one inch long in front; at the back, six feet five inches: it is five feet broad, and one foot four inches thick. In the front of it there appears to have been a sunk place which was flagged, with sides diverging from the stone; but it is imperfect. From its size this stone might have been removed, by rolling it down the hill, with little difficulty; but it seems to be treated with peculiar respect by the common people: it still remains supported by other stones, which are somewhat smaller in proportion than those in the engraving. A young peasant who was with me said, that no person now living could understand the words, but that there had been a priest, who was then dead, who knew the meaning of them. I copied the letters, which are very conspicuous and well defined, twice over, and measured them accurately; and could not help reflecting on the great difficulty of cutting upon such a stone, whose texture is of various hardness, and consists in a great measure of quartz.

If this was a place of worship, dedicated, as its name and every circumstance seems to indicate, to the Sun, the votaries, standing opposite to the inscription, which faces the west and the centre of the heap, must have had a magnificent view of his rising over the sea, which is visible from hence, beyond the lower parts of the county of Wexford. Within view of this hill, towards the west, on the borders of Tipperary, rises the more elevated mountain of *Sleigh-na-man*, which from its name was probably consecrated to the Moon, and on which are the remains of a place of worship, or, as it is called, an altar, as I have always understood, though I never ascended to the summit.

Any observations I may have to make on the letters or words of the inscription, I must offer, not only with great diffidence, but under correction of your superior knowledge and information. In finding

an inscription upon the Hill of “the Sun,” which *Grian* signifies in Irish, we naturally expect to find the name or titles given to that luminary, in whose honour the hill was named. The earliest appellation given to the Sun, when worshipped as the Supreme God by Phœnician idolaters, appears from *Bochart* to have been *El*, equivalent to the Hebrew אל . *Servius*, in the commentary on *Virgil*, observes, that the name of *Belus*, the oldest of the Phœnician kings, and of whom there were at least two in the pedigree of *Dido*, was the same as the word *El*, with the Æolic digamma prefixed. A name probably assumed by Phœnician kings, who, like ancient sovereigns, boasted of their descent from the gods. The use of this prefix prevailed among the ancient Greeks. It is thus noticed by the ingenious author of *Delphi Phœnicizantes*, p. 114, n. “Solebant enim prisci Græci (teste *Dionysio Halicar.* lib. i. *Ant. Rom.*) maximè Æoles, nominibus à vocali incipientibus præponere syllabam ου scriptam uno caractere, qui est similis duplici Γ , ad rectam lineam duabus obliquis additis: ut Φελωνη , Φαννᾶξ , Φοίχος , Φωνη , &c. Æolicum vero digamma, quod *Erasmus* et *Glareanus* observarunt, eundem apud Græcos sonum habuit, quem apud Latinos V consonans.” We find in consequence that the Latins and Etruscans prefixed the V to many Greek words, beginning with a vowel, whether aspirated or not, as Ἑσπερα *Vespera*, Ἑστια *Vesta*, Ἴς *vis*, Ἡρᾶ *ver*, and to many others.

Those who engraved the words of this inscription, seem, like the Æolians, Etrurians, and Latins, to have preserved this ancient prefix, which in form is no other than the Hebrew *vau* ו , which was the original digamma, occupying in the ancient Greek alphabet the same place which the *vau* does in Hebrew, and remaining there in use as a numeral, until it was in aftertimes changed to ς . And in this inscription it appears reversed ϝ , in conformity to the practice of the Greeks with regard to letters borrowed from the Phœnicians; for as the latter wrote from right to left, and the former (though not originally, but in early times) from left to right, so in writing they altered also the direction of the letter. This is evident in the Greek E, often written in old inscriptions Ϝ , and evidently derived from the Samaritan 𐤅 , answering to the Hebrew *Heth*; and the same as the Etrus-

can 𐤁. The form of the Samaritan *Beth* also, 𐤁, is not very much obscured, though reversed in the Greek B.

The form of the third letter in this word, 𐤌, occurs with variations in the Samaritan 𐤌, in the Etruscan 𐌒 or 𐌓; and is little different from and always answering to the Greek Λ (anciently Λ), and the Latin L. We may conclude then, that the first word, 𐤁𐤌𐤌, is to be read BELI, and is to be understood as the name of the Supreme God, applied to the Sun, the Greek ἥλιος, in which word the aspirate supplies the place, and was perhaps substituted for the digamma.

In the second word we may naturally expect some title of the deity added to his first appellation. In an ancient inscription, which *Pocock* says (*Travels*, vol. ii. p. 107, *note*) remained in great capitals, and in the ancient Syriac characters (though he has preserved it only in Roman letters), are these words, in the archway leading to the great temple at Baalbec:

MOSCHIDIVISI.

This temple was dedicated to the Sun; and the inscription naturally divides itself into the two words, *Moschi* and *Divisi*, the latter bearing a strong resemblance to our word 𐤌𐤕𐤕𐤁, if we are permitted to read it *Diuose*, in which we are fully justified in every letter, except the first. In both inscriptions the second word seems to have borne a similar meaning, and to have been a compound word of *Diu-isi*, or *Diu-ose*, the first part being probably equivalent to a very universal term for God, found among Hindûs, Irish, Greeks, and Latins. The second may perhaps take its origin from the Hebrew 𐤍𐤕, or the Chaldæan 𐤍𐤕𐤍, “*fire*,” which, read as pointed by the Masorites, would be pronounced *Esha*; or, in conformity to the Etruscan practice of sinking the aspiration, and terminating the word with *e*, would be *ese*; as the Etrurians for Theseus wrote *Tese*; and transcribed all other Greek names in an analogous manner. The change of vowels from *ese* to *ose* or *isi* is such as occurs in many instances.

And if this interpretation is allowable, we may read the second word *Diu ose*, “*God of fire*,” and the whole inscription will contain the title of the Deity here adored,

“The SUN, the God of Fire.”

Other etymologies may occur for this concluding word, as $\pi\psi$, “*existence*,” then *Diu ose* might be “the existing God,” “the self-existing Deity,” *Jehovah*:—or $\gamma\psi$, “*to save*,” and then *Diu ose*, might be “God the Saviour,” Ζεὺς σωτήρ .

The words ISI and OSE also, in both inscriptions, might be supposed to refer to the Egyptian *Isis*; which word by the Etrurians would be written *Ise*. By the great Isis was personified the power of universal nature: she proclaims herself thus in *Apuleius*, “*I am Nature*, the mother of all things, the mistress of the elements, the beginning of ages, the sovereign of the gods,” &c. “According to mythologists,” says Banier,^b “Isis is Terra, Ceres, Juno, the Moon, Minerva, Venus, Diana, and, in a word, *All Nature* (the $\Theta\epsilon\alpha \mu\upsilon\sigma\iota\omicron\nu\nu\mu\alpha$). She is styled in an inscription, “Goddess Isis, who art one and *all things*.” She proclaimed herself at Sais, according to Plutarch, by the inscription on her statue, “I am whatever has been, is, or shall be.” *Diu, isi* would thus signify, “the God of all Nature.”

But I should prefer the first interpretation, if it appears to be reasonably deduced from the premises.

Nor should I suppose that the word *Diu ose* had any affinity with the Greek $\Delta\iota\omicron\nu\nu\sigma\omicron\varsigma$, which appears, both from the term itself, and the mythological story of Bacchus, to be derived from the Indian appellation of Noah, *Dio-naush*.

If some difficulty may attend the translation of this Inscription, yet still greater difficulty will occur in attempting to account for its having been engraved on a mountain in Ireland. The resemblance which has been observed in it to the Etruscan letters and idiom might incline one to suppose that the nation to whom it owes its existence sprang from the same stock as the Etrurians. They were known to have attributed their origin to the Lydians, and their descent has never been questioned. The Lydians appear to have been the first great nation who, under different names and leaders, extended themselves by colonies and enriched themselves by commerce, even while Tyre was yet in its infancy. By following the coasts of Europe, the

^b *Banier Mythol.* l. vi. c. 1.

Lydians, or the adventurers from some of their colonies, may have preceded the Phœnicians in their visits to our islands.

Perhaps, my dear Sir, you may forgive me for the length of this note, which has extended far beyond my first intention, if I now release you from the task of tracing the Lydian colonists.

Believe me,

Yours very truly and sincerely,

Bath, 19 Dec. 1810.

W. TIGHE.

The Rev. THOMAS LEMAN, F.A.S.

IX. *Remarks on some ancient Marriage Customs. Communicated by Francis Douce, Esq. F. A. S.*

Read 11th January, 1810.



I HAVE the honour of presenting the Society with some account of a custom formerly observed at the Marriage Ceremony both in France and England, and which I do not remember to have seen noticed by any writer of our own country.

The small piece of silver that accompanies this paper is inscribed DENIRS DE FOY POVR EPOVSER, having on one side a heart between two hands, and on the other two fleurs de lis. It does not appear, as far as I know, to have found its way into any numismatic treatise, because it is not in reality a current piece of money, but only a local or particular token or symbol of property. It is, as the inscription imports, a betrothing penny, given at the marriage ceremony, either as earnest money, or for the actual purchase of the bride.^a

^a There is another sort inscribed DENIER TOVRNOIS POVR EPOVSER.

It might be difficult to ascertain, with any degree of precision, when the practice originally commenced of purchasing the wife. It was undoubtedly known to the ancient Greeks, Aristotle having strongly reprobated the custom.^b Among the ancient Germans, as well as some other northern nations, it was very general. Their *Morgengaf*, or morning gift, must be familiar to every member of this Society. That our Saxon ancestors adopted it is demonstrable from some of their laws still preserved. In one of these we find “*Uxorem ducturus ccc solidos det parentibus ejus.*”^c Among the French, and this is more immediately to our purpose, the custom is ascertained from the Salic law: “*N. filius N. puellam ingenuam nomine N. illius filiam per solidum et denarium secundum legem Salicam et antiquam consuetudinem desponsavit.*”^d It is by no means clear, however, whether in some of these instances simple earnest money or actual purchase be intended; and in a multitude of others, which it would be trespassing on the patience of my hearers to adduce, the obscurity is still greater.

To illustrate more immediately the token penny now exhibited, I shall offer a few extracts from ancient rituals that contain the marriage ceremony, whose form, in the service books made use of on the continent, varies considerably according to times and places; and even in England it was by no means uniform, as at present. None of them however that relate to the custom before us, are very old.

In the Pontifical of Amiens the rubrick says, “*Annulo benedicto, distribuatur argentum, prout sacerdoti videbitur expedire, sed ad minus debent tres denarii reservari. Post accipiat sponsus anulum de manu sacerdotis cum argento tribus digitis tenens, et dicat, habens argentum in media manu: Marie, de cet anneau t’espouse, et de cet argent te honnoure, et de mon corps te doue.*”

In the Ritual of Rheims, the priest demands of the husband thirteen pennies, and, retaining ten for himself, delivers the rest to the

^b Arist. Polit. lib. II. c. 6. Nor must it be omitted, that something of the kind appears in earlier times. See Genesis xxxiv. 12, and Exod. xxii. 17.

^c Lex Saxon. Tit. VI. de conjugiiis.

^d Vet. form. apud Pithœi lib. leg. Salic. 1662. 8vo. Canciani Leges antiquæ. II. 270.

man, who, after putting on the ring, deposits the money either in the bride's right hand, or in a purse brought by her for that purpose, adding the words, "with my goods I thee endow."

In the Manual of Noyon, the priest puts the money into the woman's hand, and the husband says, "De cest argent du douaire divisé entre mes amys et les tiens te doue." The rubrick then proceeds, "Tunc accipiat sacerdos denarios aut pecias argenti, et det mulieri, si sibi placuerit, aut retineat in suo jure si voluerit." This privilege to the priest of retaining all the money, at his discretion, is very singular. It is transferring the dowry from the woman to himself, leaving to her the mere form, which might perhaps be deemed sufficient in this particular diocese.

In the Manual of Toledo the man puts the money into the woman's hand, after the ring is fixed, and says after the priest, "Esposa, este anillo y arras os doy en señal de matrimonio;" and the woman answers, "Yo lo recibo," and immediately deposits it in a plate as an offering to the church. Here the money is expressly called *earnest-money*.

With respect to our own country, I have not met with any English specimens of these betrothing tokens, although our ancient marriage ceremony certainly recognized the practice of offering some kind of money. Thus, in an ancient manuscript of the Salisbury Missal, the man says, "Wyth this rynge y the wedde and thys *gold and selvir* the geve and with my bodi y the worshippe and with all my worldith catel y the honoure."^c In the printed copies it is, "With thys ryng I the wedde, and thys *gold and silver* I the geve, and with all my worldly catel I thee endowe:" or else, "Wyth thys ryng y the wed, and wyth my body y the honowr, and wyth all my gold y the endowe." Previously to which the rubrick says, "Ponat vir *aurum vel argentum* et annulum super scutum vel librum." The service books for York and Hereford have the same expression, and it continued till the time of Edw. VI. but was abolished in his second Common Prayer book.

I shall beg leave to add to the foregoing remarks a few particulars relating to the marriage ceremony, that are not very generally known.

^c Harl. MS. 2984.

Leobard, the celebrated saint of Tours, in the sixth century, being persuaded in his youth to marry, gave his betrothed a ring, a kiss, and a pair of shoes.^f This ceremony has been explained, very much to the dishonour of the ladies, as referring to the absolute servitude of the party, who in this instance was symbolically tied, to use an expressive phrase, "neck and heels."

By a decree of the Council of Toledo, in the year 683, the Queens of Spain were interdicted from a second marriage under very severe pains. And if any man whatever, even though a king, presumed to marry, or even to act criminally with her, he was to be secluded from all Christian communion, and without ceremony to be delivered over to the devil.

It was formerly the custom to place some sort of crown on the bride and bridegroom, and there was a particular service on the occasion. In this ceremonial the marriage of Cana is mentioned several times; and I conceive that on this account almost all the paintings and representations of the marriage of Cana exhibit the parties crowned. Second marriages were performed not only without the ceremonies of benediction and coronation, but the parties were deprived of the alms of the church. Bigamy, or second marriage, seems in former times to have been considered as disgraceful; and in a very ancient collection of various cases of penance, persons who entered on a second or third marriage were enjoined to fast thirty-three weeks, but in what particular manner is not stated. In France, likewise, it was the practice to molest a woman who married a second or third husband with a morning serenade of pots and kettles. This was called a *charivari*, a word whose origin Mons. Menage has confessed his inability to discover. Like our bells, drums, and trumpets, it was no more than an artful device of some ingenious knaves to compel the parties, where it was possible, to give them money for their forbearance.

^f Gregor. Turon. in vita S. Leobardi.

X. *An historical and descriptive Account of Ripon Minster, in the West Riding of the County of York, by the Rev. Robert Darley Waddilove, Dean of Ripon, F. A. S. In a Letter to William Bray, Esq. F. A. S. Treasurer.*

Read 15th, and 22d, March, 1810.

THE Church of Ripon partakes of the common origin of most others in this kingdom, being founded at the re-establishment of Christianity after the conversion of the pagan Saxons. And we find that Alfred, King of Northumberland, first established a monastery or college of monks at Ripon, from Lindisfarne and Melros, in the year 661.

At this period the controversy concerning the time of the celebration of Easter took place, and to decide it a synod was held before the King at Strenshal, now Whitby.^a Here Wilfrid appeared as the champion of the church of Rome. His eloquence prevailed; the Roman ritual was confirmed; and the Scottish monks retiring from their monastery at Ripon, Wilfrid was appointed to preside in it, A. D. 663, and soon afterwards was raised to the see of York. All the ideas of this prelate were magnificent, for the age in which he lived; and it is to be regretted that we have no perfect instance of his skill in architecture yet remaining: unless the church at Ely, or that at Melburne in Derbyshire, so correctly described by Mr. Wilkins, in the *Archæologia*, Vol. XIII. p. 29, be of his construction.

He built very splendidly, according to his time, the Church of Ripon, “with curious arches, fine pavements, and winding recesses,” as William of Malmesbury describes it.^b It is allowed, indeed, that it

^a See Bedæ Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. 25. A full and clear account of this controversy may be seen in Rapin. Hist. Engl. Vol. I. b. iii. p. 71, 72, 2d. edit.

^b Thus also Eddius: In Hrypīs (*i. e.* Ripon) basilicam polito lapide a fundamentis in terra usque ad summum ædificatam, variis columnis et porticibus suffultam, in altum erexit et consummavit. Eddii Vita Wilfridi apud Gale, XV. Scriptores, cap. xvii. p. 59.

had ceased to exist in the time of that writer; and was probably not extensive in comparison with the structures of later ages. But the similar descriptions of the church of Hexham, another production of Wilfrid's genius, by writers coeval to its existence, Eddius, and the Prior of Hexham,^c leave us small ground to doubt of its being an edifice of considerable importance.

This structure at Ripon probably sunk in the wars between the Danes and Saxons, long before the conquest.

We find in the year 860, or rather 866, the town, with part of the monastery, was destroyed by the Danes;^d and A. D. 948, the Saxon Edred retaliated on them, and laid waste the Northumbrian territories; when the monastery and town again perished in a general conflagration.^e

In the course of two years it fortunately was rebuilt, or restored, by the care of Odo, Archbishop of Canterbury, who removed the bones of Wilfrid to his own Cathedral in Kent.

There yet exists, attached to the Church of Ripon, a perfect and very singular religious edifice, probably anterior to the conquest, which claims the attention of antiquarians; and an account of which may probably be communicated, at some future opportunity, to this Society. It undoubtedly becomes a difficult question to decide, from its plan and style of building, whether it were erected by Wilfrid, by the Danes, or by the abovementioned prelate.

The devastation of the northern counties by the Norman Conqueror was also fatal to Ripon. "Omnis hæc terra wasta," is the return of the Domesday-book on the territories of the church.

But there are grounds to conjecture that it did not long remain in that state.

^c Eddii Vita Wilfridi, ut supra, cap. xxii. p. 62, et Richardi Prioris Hagulstad. (*i. e.* Hexham) L. I. c. 3. See also Bentham's Hist. of Ely, p. 22.

^d This invasion of the Danes is described by Rapin, Hist. Engl. (from Sax. Annal. and Malmesbury, L. II. c. 3) Vol. I. b. iv. p. 88, 89.

^e Vide Malmesbur. p. 155. S. Dunelm. p. 156. Dugd. Monast. Vol. I. p. 172. Art. Ripponen. Eccl. Rapin, Vol. I. b. iv. p. 103.

The Church and Manor of Ripon, from the time of Wilfrid; at least from that of the Saxon Athelstan, had belonged to the see of York. Thus in Domesday, "Hoc manerium tenuit Eldred Arch. nunc Thomas Arch." And Thomas, the chaplain of the Norman King, and Archbishop of York, and who exerted himself in restoring his see, died at Ripon. It cannot be supposed that the church, or the demesnes, would be then suffered to lay waste. Henry I. also granted a charter for a fair to the town. This implies some degree of population; and brings us also to the æra of the present edifice.

In the reign of his successor, King Stephen, A. D. 1140, the present structure of the Church of Ripon, however since altered, enlarged, and improved, was raised by the munificent piety of Thurstan, Archbishop of York, and the first patron of Fountain's Abbey.

The whole of the west front including its towers, the middle tower, and the transept, with a part of the choir and ailes, remain of his work. These remains are amply sufficient to furnish a clear idea of the plan and construction of this first very singular Anglo-Norman Church. The time of the erection of it was precisely the æra when the narrow sharp-pointed Gothic arch first began to take place of the circular Saxon one; and they are both seen here in a perfection scarcely perhaps attained elsewhere in the kingdom.

The general plan consisted of a west front, with narrow pointed windows, supported by two handsome towers, and which opened into a broad nave without side ailes, leading to the four circular arches which supported the middle tower, and terminating in a choir, not perhaps of greater extent than the sides of the transept.

How much soever the Church has gained in size and ornament by the subsequent alterations, a transient regret cannot but arise in the mind, that so complete a specimen of the architecture of that age had not remained to posterity.

The west front is uniform and stately. Its breadth is 43 feet; and, including the towers of $29\frac{1}{2}$ feet each, is in the whole 102 feet, external measure. It rises in the point in which the front terminates to a height of more than 100 feet, and in the towers of 110; whilst

they were evidently surmounted by wooden spires, covered with lead, since removed, of at least an equal elevation.^f

The three doors of this front, of a deep recess, and flanked with many small pillars, open into the nave. Above them are two rows of five windows, of a good height and proportion; and all the windows and ornaments attached to the towers are in a correspondent style of building.

The towers themselves stand in a continued line with the front, and compose a part of it; but have had three outward sides, and only communicated with the church in their interior side, and in a line which made a part of the walls of the nave. The west towers of the old Cathedral of Ely, of which a plan is given by Mr. Benthani, had an opening to the church in a similar manner.

In the inside of the nave it is plain that this front composes what is usually called the great west window, filling a space of 57 feet by 41; and the size and number of these collected lancet-shaped windows are so ample, that the effect of light gained to the Church is very considerable. There is also a degree of elegance in the construction of the architecture; which appearance is gained by the row of long slender columns that surround each of these lancet-shaped windows in the inside, in a similar manner with those of the external front, and which, accompanying them in their whole length, compose the inner west front towards the nave. It has been observed by writers on ancient architecture, that on the introduction of the sharp-pointed arch, an immediate change took place from ponderous Saxon columns to the most minute small ones; sometimes in clusters, occasionally as separate and distinct, frequently, as here, in two slightly attached columns, with which also the door-cases, having arches of singular flatness, are supported. The whole effect is very favourable to the lightness of the building.

^f These spires were evidently coeval with the towers on which they were raised. The foundation of the Church laid A. D. 1140. The earliest spire usually instanced is that of St. Paul's, London, finished A. D. 1221, of wood and lead, similar to these of Ripon. See Dallaway's *Archit.* p. 125, and pp. 36, 37. The towers at Ripon are obviously built to support a spire.

The walls of the first nave are gone; but its height may be known by the stone angular ledge for supporting the roof, yet remaining, with a portion of lead in it, on the side of the middle tower, compared with that of the point or apex of the West Front. The measurement of these angles determined the shape or fall of the roof, and consequently the height of the walls.

The ridge of this roof much exceeded the height of the present one, and must have been nearly 100 feet, if not more, from the pavement. The walls probably not less than eighty feet; and this corresponds with the square of the west front under the pediment between the west towers.

The windows in the side walls of this nave were, it may be presumed, either narrow with a circular top, as those of Fountain's, and other Abbeys of that age, or, more probably, lancet-shaped, to correspond with those in the adjoining towers. Examples of each kind now exist in the transept of this Church.

The east end of the nave or body of the Church is bounded by the middle tower, of the same height, but larger in width than those of the west end, and then supporting a leaden spire of the height of 120 feet.

The tower was raised on four circular or Saxon arches of such amplitude, lightness, and beauty, as fully to vindicate the Anglo-Norman artists from the inability to execute works of just and elegant proportion. Two of these now remain. And the antiquary, accustomed to contemplate the massive pillars and heavy arcades of the Saxon or Norman churches, views with wonder and delight a lofty arch of great expansion and delicate workmanship, that seems to unite the classic beauties of the Grecian architecture with the airy lightness of the Gothic. These arches are 22 feet broad in the span, 33 feet high to the crown of the arch, on a column of 26 feet; and are formed with a slight moulding of not more than five feet in thickness.

The two, north and south, ends of the transept are in the usual style of the age, with narrow windows, plain, and no ways remarkable.

The extent of the old choir is sufficiently ascertained. All the

choirs of the Norman churches, as justly observed by Mr. Milner in his History of Ely; were remarkably short. And this is a strong instance of it; it being about the length of 43 feet. The walls and windows of its narrow side-aisles correspond with those of the transept. The side arches of this ancient choir have been altered to a Gothic shape; but the upper windows above them on the north side yet remain. The original form of these arches may be supposed to have been circular; and if in a style correspondent to the large one adjoining to them under the middle tower, must have exhibited a very handsome appearance.

The east end of this first choir can only be conjectured; yet most probably it had much consonance with the opposite windows of the west end of the Church. And a very reasonable idea may therefore be obtained of it, by supposing it to resemble the elegant end of the choir in the Abbey of Rievaulx in this county; with two rows of three large lancet-shaped windows, and probably a smaller one like that of the west front of Ripon, in the angular top of the building.

Such was the edifice built by Archbishop Thurstan in the middle of the twelfth century.

The alterations that have since taken place have converted the internal appearance into that of a Gothic structure of just and noble proportions; whilst select parts of the first church are yet retained, sufficient to render it one of the best specimens of the Anglo-Norman style to an antiquary.

These alterations were made way for by a destructive conflagration on an invasion of the Scots, A.D. 1317, in the reign of Edward II. when the Church was, as it were, totally consumed. But there existed another general cause, which was constantly producing effects beneficial to the Church of Ripon. The Archbishops of York had a palace at Ripon, and appear to have paid great attention to the fabric of this Church, as accidental injury, or varying taste, demanded any change or renovation. Hence wealth would not be wanting; and the architects, who raised or improved their magnificent Cathedral, were at hand to furnish similar plans of improvement at Ripon.

Fortunately for this fabric, Archbishop Melton held the see of York, when the town and church of Ripon were destroyed by the Scots. And on the accession of Edward III. as soon probably as a more stable government gave any prospect of security to the northern parts of the kingdom, he promoted the rebuilding of the town, and caused the Church to be re-edified, as it is expressed, from the foundations.

The devastation caused by the fire was probably the guide to the new erections. It may be deemed certain that the whole of the roof and spires was consumed. It is far from improbable that the walls of the nave were also damaged beyond the hope of restoration. This would occasion their removal. At the same time, the whole west front remained, and pointed out the breadth of the new side-aisles, by the breadth of the towers now to be included in them.

Archbishop Melton was then employed in completing the west end of the church at York, on the plan of his predecessor, John de Romaine; and the handsome breadth of the aisles, the style of the Gothic arches of the nave, with the lofty range of windows which surmount them at Ripon, exhibit great similarity to the corresponding parts in that Cathedral.

How far the two large Norman arches, under the middle tower, now removed, were impaired by the fire, cannot be ascertained; but they are replaced with great ingenuity; for the Saxon arch was removed, and the pointed one inserted, without disturbing the upper part of the wall of the tower, by two handsome Gothic arches in the style of those of the nave, yet somewhat heavy and ponderous, with much irregularity in the general appearance, and do not entirely compensate for the absence of the Saxon.

At the same time these two sides of the middle tower, perhaps also injured by fire, were new cased with stone work, and their windows in the lantern altered to the Gothic. It is apparent, from the unfinished state of the stone-work, and from the columns of these Gothic arches, that an intention prevailed of rendering the whole uniform, by the alteration of the other sides of the tower: but whether this

change was made by Archbishop Melton, and succeeded the conflagration, or took place under the idea of rendering the great arches similar to those of York at a future period, is uncertain.

In the choir, a date of A. D. 1331, the same year in which this Archbishop gave regulations to the Canons of the Church, makes it evident that he had a principal share in improving and enlarging it. He extended it eastward to twice its former length, so that it is now of the extent of 99 feet. He also probably altered the arches of the old choir, and added the new ones.

The other alterations in the choir it is difficult to assign to any particular æra. There is a date on the highly wrought wood-work so low as A. D. 1494. The notices to be obtained from the style of the architecture are very dubious. It is obvious, from a negligent junction of the old and new work at the third side arch, and from a step across the choir, now levelled by the late new pavement, that it has been considerably lengthened.

At the present day, the east end is adorned by a window of ample size and great beauty. In its pristine state, and full extent, for it is in part obscured by an altar screen, its dimensions are 51 feet by 25. It is of late and ornamental construction, very similar in design to those of the elegant Chapter-house at York; probably subsequent to the renovation of the church in the time of Edward III. but yet of the same design or pattern of the side windows adjoining to it. For there yet remain in the window two shields in painted glass, with the arms of England and of France, in which those of France are given with *fleurs de lys semé*, and not restricted to *three fleurs*, as took place in the time of Henry V. This fixes the date of the window to the fourteenth century, or between 1 Edward III. A. D. 1326, and the time of Henry V. A. D. 1413.

The gratitude of the Dean and Chapter towards their founder, King James I. had placed his arms in the centre of this window, which having fortunately escaped the general demolition of painted glass in the civil wars, it has been rendered, by the care of the present Dean, assisted by the donations of the Chapter and neighbouring gentry, a very full and handsome window of armorial bearings. The

splendid colours of the glass add a richness to the appearance of the choir.

The rich ornaments of the stone screen at the entrance of the choir, and the carved wood-work which ornaments the stalls of the interior part of it, seem also to claim particular notice, as the last is allowed to exhibit a delicacy and lightness, superior even to that of York, or of almost any other religious edifice possessing similar decorations.

An archiepiscopal throne at the end of these stalls, of similar workmanship, and executed by Mr. Archer, of Oxford, has been very lately erected by the munificence of the late Archbishop of York.

Another advantageous distinction of the Church of Ripon is, the excellent proportion of the body of the fabric; the breadth of the nave and side ailes being 87 feet, which exceeds that of every Gothic Church, collegiate and cathedral, in the kingdom, except those of York, Westminster, and St. Alban's. As the length of the nave is not considerable, being about 134 feet, and the height very ample, of above 80 feet, the whole presents an edifice more nearly approaching the just rules of architecture than perhaps any other structure of its kind in the middle ages.

The exterior of the Church is in itself lofty and well proportioned. But the towers, like all those which have been formed to support leaden spires of great altitude, are flat and heavy, and give, in part, that appearance to the whole building.

This apparent heaviness has, within these few years, been relieved by the addition of battlements and pinnacles on the west towers, with so good an effect, as may excuse the breach of strict regularity: these towers are without buttresses, but are strengthened with a slight projection at their angles, which sustains the pinnacles with sufficient propriety. The Great, or Wilfrid's Tower, as it is called, having been left in a very unfinished state, has also lately been completed with battlements and pinnacles.

By the constant care and attention of the Dean and Chapter to all necessary repairs, the whole of the floor of the Church has been handsomely relaid with a new pavement. Under the pavement, near the

middle tower, it may be mentioned, is a kind of chapel, or penitentiary, of ten feet and a half by seven, and nine feet high, used apparently as a confessional, with an entrance for the priest from the choir.

It may also be noticed, that over the structure called St. Wilfrid's Church had been erected a chapel to the Virgin, yet termed the Lady Loft, manifestly of the time of King Henry VII. now constituting part of the library, and the latest Gothic building attached to the Minster.

N. B. It having been contended by the late Mr. Whittington, that the pointed Arch prevailed in France, previous to its introduction in Britain, and in the first half of the twelfth century, it may be observed, that the Church of Ripon, founded A. D. 1140, by Archbishop Thurstan, has a strong claim to as early an æra.

XI. *A List of Ancient Words at present used in the mountainous District of the West Riding of Yorkshire. Communicated by Robert Willan, M.D. F.R.S. and S. A.*

Read 27th June, 1811.

THE following list of ancient Words, commonly used by the inhabitants of a northern district of England, is offered to the Society as an object not devoid of interest. In presenting it, I may hope other Members will be excited to form collections of terms employed among the peasantry in different counties. Such a plan, it must be evident, would greatly contribute to elucidate both History and Philology. Those who make a research in other parts of the island will probably find a rich harvest, when compared with my gleanings near the rugged hills of Westmoreland, and in the adjoining border of Yorkshire.

It may be proper to observe that no word occurring in Johnson's Dictionary is put down in the annexed list, unless the sense differ materially from what he has expressed. The antiquated terms retained by him are taken from Ray or Bailey, and I should add that nearly all of them continue in present use among the peasants and cottagers of the district mentioned.

I am induced to offer a simple list of terms, having observed that the printed specimens of dialects in different counties do not exhibit the range of ancient or unusual words employed in each district, but seem intended to amuse the reader with uncouth rustic phrases, and to bewilder him by distorted spelling.

A.

ABRAID, *v.* to rise on the stomach with some degree of nausea. This term is applied to articles of diet, which prove disagreeable to the taste, and difficult of digestion.

ACK, *v.* to attend, to notice. From the Saxon word *Achten*, *animum intendere*: Wachter.

AG, or HAG, *v.* to cut with a stroke. Hence the words *Axe*, *Edge*, and to *egg*. *Ac* and *Hack* are perhaps only dialectical variations. (See *Hack*.)

ANENST, *adv.* over-against, opposite.

ARR, *s.* a blotch or sore on the face; or rather the mark caused by a sore. Hence the word *ARLES*, tetters; or *Herpes miliaris*.

ATTERCOB, *s.* a spider: the word signifies *Poison-head*. (See *Cop.*)

AULD-FARAND, *adj.* old fashioned. (See *Farand*.)

AWK, *s.* a stupid and clumsy person. Is not this and the word *Awkward* derived from the northern sea-birds called *Awks*, the stupidity of which is proverbial? See Linnæus, gen. *Alca*.

B.

BAIN, *adj.* near, easy, obvious. The *bainest gate* signifies "the readiest road, or the shortest path."

BALLERAG, *v.* to banter.

BAN-FIRES, BEN-FIRES, or BONE-FIRES, *s. i. e.* fires on the heights, formerly kindled at appointed places in times of rejoicing. The word *Ban*, if originally Gaelic, has been adopted into the Teutonic language.

Wachter (in *Glossar. German.*) says, "Bann multas habet formas, et multos significatus in antiquissimis dialectis, scribitur etiam, *ben*, *byn*, *fan*, *fann*, *pan*, *pen*, *pin*, *pfin*. Significat, 1. *Altum et excelsum*. 2. *Summitatem*. 3. *Dominum*: Marsis Antiquis, *Dominus*. TAN-FANA (ignis altus) est *Sol* vel *Ignis*.

Pen-tan, in modern Welch, is the Hob by the fire-side.

Bone-fire is a corruption made by the higher class of people, in

order to soften the harsh sound of Bân-fire, as the word is generally pronounced.

BAR-GUEST, *s.* a spirit or demon attached to a town or village, and said to howl dreadfully at midnight before any general calamity.

BARNS, *s.* for children.

BEAL, *s.* a hot inflamed tumour.^a Hence, *to beal* is to suppurate. The word Beal, Bæl, Beel, or Bayle, is found in every language in the northern parts of Europe, from Kamschatka to Ireland. It signifies a body of flame, a blazing fire, as on a beacon, or funeral pile.^b

BEASTINGS, *s.* the first milk of a cow after calving. *Bull-jumpings* is a porridge made of this milk with oatmeal.

BECK, *s.* a mountain-stream, or small rapid river.

BEET, *v.* to put on fuel: to supply the gradual waste of any thing.

BENTS, *s.* high pastures, or shelving commons. Hence Bent-Grass, which from the soil is necessarily harsh and coarse.

BIG, *s.* an inferior kind of barley.

BIGG, *v.* to build.

BIGGEN, *v.* to recover strength after lying-in.

BIGGIN, *s.* a building, generally a hut covered with mud or turf.

BIRK, *s.* the birch.

BIT, *s.* crisis, nick of time.

BLAKE, *adj.* dark yellow, or livid; hence the citrinella, or yellow-hammer, is called *a Blakeling*.

BLATE, *adj.* bashful.

BLEA, or BLAY, *s.* a bluish colour, as in the Blay-berries.^c Sometimes it expresses a bad colour in linen, and indicates the necessity of bleaching.

BLEE, *s.* colour, complexion.

^a It is now corruptly pronounced Bile or Boil.

^b The *Beal* differed from culinary fires, being lighted on occasions prescribed either by the priesthood or by the state. Is it then necessary, respecting one modification of it, the *Irish Beal-tane*, to introduce the Assyrian god Belus for the derivation of a word found in so many different languages, and among nations so remote from each other?

^c This is corrupted into Bil-berries.

BLINK, *v.* to smile, to look kindly, but with a modest eye, the word being generally applied to females.

BOAK, or BOKE, *v.* to retch or vomit.

BOGGART, or BOGGLE, *s.* a spectre.

BOWN, *v.* to dress; to make ready.

BRACKENS, *s.* fern.

BRAD, *v.* to "brade of," is to resemble.

BRAE, *s.* a bank or declivity; any sloping broken ground.

BRAID, *v.* to nauseate, to retch, to eruct. Hence the words *Abraid* and *Upbraid*.

BRAND-NEW, *adj.* This is generally applied to clothes: it denotes the shining glossy appearance given by passing a hot iron over them.

BRANDRETH, *s.* a quadrangular frame of iron, fixed over the fire to hold a kettle, &c. It is supported on the bars by forked feet.

BRANT, *adj.* steep, precipitous.

BRASH, *s.* a sudden sickness, with acid rising into the mouth (as in heart-burn). It is from Braid, or perhaps from *Brassen* (intus ardere). See Wachter.

BRAT, *s.* a coarse apron.

BRAW, *adj.* fine, handsome, clever.

BRAY, *v.* to pound, to bruise.

BROOSE (or BROUSE), *s.* broth.

BUMBLE, *v.* to make a humming noise. Hence "Bumble-bee."

BURN, *s.* a brook. A burn winds slowly along meadows, and originates from small springs, whereas a *Beck* is formed by water collected on the sides of mountains, and proceeds with a rapid stream.

BUR TREE, *s.* the common elder. It is so called because the flowers grow in a cyme, close together, like those of the bur. The first botanical arrangement and nomenclature were framed from very slight resemblances in plants, without attention either to natural orders or genera. Thus we have *Bur-dock*, *Bur-reed* (the sparganium erectum), and *Bur-tree*.

BYSPELT, *s.* a mischievous lad, acting always contrarily to reason, authority, and propriety, as if under the influence of a spell.

C.

CAD'GY, *adj.* chearful, merry. CADGILY, *adv.*

CARN, *s.* a rude heap of stones.

CALLAN, *s.* a boy. *Qu.* Galant?

CALLER, *adj.* fresh.

CAMPLE, *v.* to answer pertly and frowardly when rebuked by superiors.

CANKERED, *adj.* rusty, ill-natured.

CANNY, *adj.* mild, gentle, dextrous. CANNILY, *adv.* CONNY is used for pretty.

CANTLES, *s.* the legs, chiefly in young animals.

CANTY, *adj.* jovial, cheerful.

CARNY, *v.* to flatter, to coax.

CARVIS CAKES, *s.* flat round cakes, made of oatmeal, and flavoured with carraway seeds.

CHEGGLE, or CHEG, *v.* to gnaw or champ a resisting substance.

CLAM, *v.* to starve, to be parched with thirst.

CLARTY, *adj.* daubed, dirty, or miry.

CLICK, *v.* to snatch.

CLIPPING, *s.* a sheep-shearing.

CLOCK, *v.* to hatch. CLOCKING is also the sound made by a hen, in order to keep the chickens round her.

CLOGS, *s.* shoes with wooden soles, and iron plates, termed *caw-kers*, at the heels and toes.

CLUMP, *s.* a heavy mass.

CLUMPY or CLUMPISH, *adj.* awkward and unwieldy.

COBBLES, *s.* large round stones in the beds of rivers, brought down by floods from the mountains. Houses are built with them.

COGGERS, *s.* half-boots made of stiff leather, strong cloth, or even of worsted buttoned at the side, and strapped under the shoe.

COOM, *s.* dust and scrapings of wood, produced in sawing.

COP, *s.* the head, the top of any thing: hence copse, coppice, a round woody eminence.

COPPY or COBBY, *adj.* headstrong; in too high spirits.

COPPY, *s.* a low stool for a child.

COTTERED, or COTTED, *adj.* entangled, matted together. The word is usually applied to hair, or wool, as HANKLED is to silk, thread, worsted, &c.

COUL, *s.* pronounced câwl, a swelling or abscess.

COUL, *v.* to put together dung, mud, dirt, &c.

COUL-RAKE, *s.* the instrument by which this is performed.

COWE, *v.* to terrify, to keep in subjection.

COWP, *v.* to barter.

COYSTRELL, *s.* a raw, inexperienced lad.

COYSTY, *adj.* dainty.

CRANK or CRANKY, *adj.* jocose, sprightly, exulting.

CREEL, *s.* Two semicircular wicker baskets joined by cords which admit of their closing to hold hay. A man having the *creel* strapped over his shoulders, conveys provender to sheep, in remote pastures, during the distress of a thick snow.

CREILED, *adj.* speckled, variegated. This term is usually applied to poultry.

CROCK, *s.* sig. 1. soot hanging in facets, on the sides of an open chimney.

2. the short under-hair in the neck.

3. an old ewe.

CROONING, *s.* the cry of a disquiet bull. To CROON.

CROTTLES, *s.* crumbs, broken pieces. *adj.* crotting, friable.

CROWDIE, *s.* broth, or water much thickened with oatmeal. An indentation is made in the mass, in order to receive the fat of the broth, into which every spoonful is dipped as it is eaten.

CRUMP, or CRIMP, *adj.* hard, brittle, crumbling.

CRUMP, *v.* to eat bread or cake of the above quality.

CRUMPLED, *adj.* puckered, twisted.

CUDDLE, *v.* to hug.

CUSHAT, *s.* the wood-pigeon.

CUTTY, *adj.* short.

D.

DAFF, *v.* to confound, hence *daft*, stupid, foolish.

DASE, or DAZE, *v.* to dazzle, to stupify. DAZED, blinded with splendor, astounded, benumbed with frost.

DEET, or DIGHT, *v.* to winnow corn.

DEFT, *adj.* neat, active, handy.

DEG, *v.* to moisten with water.

DOEBIES, *s.* Demons attached to particular houses or farms. The ideas respecting them, are the same as are held in Scotland, with respect to BROWNIES. Though naturally lazy, they are said to make, in cases of trouble and difficulty, incredible exertions for the advantage of the family; as to stack all the hay, or house the whole crop of corn in one night.

The farmers horses are left to rest, and stags, or other wild animals, are supposed to fulfil the orders of the demon.

Some of the Dobbies are contented to stay in out-houses with the cattle, but others will only dwell among human beings. The latter are thought to be fond of heat, but when the hearth cools, it is said, they frisk and racket about the house, greatly disturbing the inmates. If the family should remove with the expectation of finding a more peaceable mansion, their hopes would be frustrated, for we are informed that the Dobby, being attached to the persons, not to place, would remove also, and commence his revels in the new habitation.

The Dobbies residing in lone granges, or barns, and near antiquated towers, bridges, &c. have a character imputed to them different from that of the house-demons. Benighted travellers are thought to be much endangered by passing their haunts; for as grave legends assure us, an angry sprite will sometimes jump behind a horseman, and compress him so tightly that he either perishes before he can reach his home, or falls into some lingering and direful malady.

DOCKON, the *rumex obtusifolius*. I mention this plant on account

of the medicinal application of it, connected however with a charm. When a labourer or child has been severely stung with nettles, some good matron collects the Dock-leaves, spits upon them, and begins to rub with them all the parts affected, repeatedly pronouncing the following words of incantation, viz. "*In Dockon—out Nettle.*" This operation is continued till the violent smarting and inflammation subside; the time seldom exceeds ten minutes.

The present article will contribute to explain an obscure passage in Chaucer's *Troilus and Creseide*, b. iv. ver. 461.

DODDER, *v.* to tremble; to noddle, as in the palsy of decrepitude. DIDER, a variation from the above, signifying to shiver.

DOLE, or DULE, *s.* grief, lamentation. Hence DOWLY, or DAWLY, lonely, sorrowful.

DOUBLER, *s.* a large dish of earthen ware.

DOW, or DAW, *v.* to do well, to prosper. Hence DANNOT, *s.* a good-for-nothing, a wretch. THAT 'AT DANNOT, The Devil.

DRAFF, *s.* the refuse of malt after brewing.

DRAWP, *v.* to drawl; to speak slowly and monotonously.

DREE, *adj.* long, tedious. Hence *dreary*.

DREE, *v.* to suffer, to last.

DRIP, *s.* stalactites, or petrefactions.

DUB, *s.* a piece of deep and smooth water in a rapid river: sometimes a small pool.

DUDS, *s.* rags or ragged clothing. Hence DUDMAN, a scare-crow.

E.

EDDLE, *v.* pronounced *addle*; to earn by labour.

ESK, *s.* a newt, or small lizard.

ETTLE, *v.* to take aim.

F.

FARAND, *s.* state of preparation for a journey: a fashion, or mode of proceeding.

FARAND, or FARANT, *adj.* fashioned, equipped for a journey.

FARAND-MAN, *s.* is a traveller, or itinerant merchant.

FIGHTING-FARAND, in the fighting way, or fashion.

AULD-FARANT, *adj.* old-fashioned, sagacious.

FARANTLY, *adv.* orderly; in regular, or established modes.

All these expressions seem to originate from the Verb FARE, (in Saxon FARAN) "to be on a Journey." We may wonder at the id's of fore-sight, preparation, formal style, and numerous appertenances, as connected with a journey in our island; but on reverting to the time of the Heptarchy, when no collateral facilities aided the traveller, we shall be convinced that a journey of any considerable extent, must have been an undertaking that would require much previous calculation, and nice arrangement.

FASH, *s.* care, trouble, anxiety.

FEAK, *v.* to fidget, to be restless, or busied about trifles.

FEAL, *v.* to hide.

FECK, *s.* might, activity, zeal, abundance.

FECKFUL, *adj.* strong, and brawny.

FECKLESS, *adj.* weak, inefficient.

FELLS, *s.* chains of mountains not admitting of cultivation.

FEND, *v.* to make a shift, to struggle for a livelihood.

FERE, *s.* a friend, companion, or brother.

FERK, *v.* to give a smart blow.

FERLEY, *v.* to gape at in wonder.

FEST, *v.* to board from home.

FETTLE, *s.* condition, case.

FETTLE, *v.* to set about actively, to adjust.

FILE, *v.* to soil, or dirty.

FLACKER, or FLICKER, *v.* to flutter as a bird under alarm, to shiver.

FLAWES, *s.* square pieces of heath-turf, dried and used as fuel.

FLAY, *v.* to frighten.

FLAYING, *s.* an apparition, or hobgoblin.

FLEET-MILK, *s.* milk without cream, from the verb FLEET, to skim off the surface.

FLINDERS, *s.* shreds, broken pieces.

FLITE, *v.* to scold.

FOG, *s.* after grass.

FOND, *adj.* silly, foolish.

FOOTING, *s.* an entertainment given on entering at a school, or on an office.

FORCE, *s.* a waterfall.

FORE-HEIT, *s.* forethought, from fore-heed, to pre-consider.

FOXED, *adj.* drunk.

FRAY, *v.* see FLAY.

FREIT, *s.* a frightful object, a spectre.

FROUGH, *adj.* easily broken: generally applied to wood, as brittle is to mineral substances.

FULDRIVE, *plano impetu.*

G.

GAB, *v.* to prate, to talk much. GOB, *s.* the mouth.

GAILY, *adv.* pretty well; the usual answer to the salutation, "How do ye do?"

GAIN, or GAINLY, *adj.* handy, convenient, near. See BAIN.

GALE, *v.* to ache, to tingle, as when frost-bitten; or when very cold water has been taken into the mouth.

GALLORE, *s.* (from GILLORE, Irish) great plenty.

GAR, *v.* to compel.

GATE, *s.* a street or road.

GARTH, *s.* a yard, garden, or small enclosure adjoining to a house.

KIRK-GARTH, Church-Yard.

GAVELOCK, *s.* a strong iron bar used as a lever.

GAWM, *v.* to comprehend, to understand, to consider. GAWMLESS, thoughtless.

GEAR, *s.* harness, furniture. Also a term of reproach, denoting a worthless person.

GECK, *v.* to toss the head.

GILL, *s.* a deep hollow between two hills, with a stream of water at the bottom. GULLY, *s.* is a deep trench made artificially to drain off water from low ground.

GIRDLE, *s.* a large circular plate of iron, on which oat-cakes are baked. It is supported over the fire by a Brandreth.

GIRNEGAW, *s.* the cavity of the mouth, from GRIN, which is pronounced *girn*.

GLENDER, *v.* to stare, to look on earnestly.

GLENT, *v.* to peep.

GLEYS, *v.* to squint.

GLOPPENED, surprised.

GLOWR, *v.* to stare with dilated eyes.

GORE, *s.* The lowest part in a tract of country. This is another of the words occurring in every language, from the Ganges to the Shannon.

GORM, *v.* to daub; from GOR (Saxon) dirt.

GRAIDLY, *adj.* honest, decorous.

GRAIDLY, *adj.* very well, or tolerably well.

GRANGE, *s.* a barn, granary, or storehouse; originally that belonging to the lord of the manor, or to a religious house.

GREIT, *v.* to cry, to weep.

GROATS, *s.* unhulled oats.

GROWSOME, *adj.* pronounced GRAWSOME, ugly, frightful. From GROWSE, *v.* to be chill, to shiver; or to tremble with horror.

GUIL-VAT, *s.* a wort-tub in which the liquor ferments.

GULLEY, *s.* a large knife.

GUMPTION, *s.* solid understanding; sense combined with energy. From GAWM. RUM-GUMPTION seems only to be used for the sake of the alliteration.

GUTTER, *s.* a small stream of water, deep and narrow.

H.

HACK, *s.* an agricultural instrument, consisting of a flattened and bent piece of iron, perforated so as to receive through its centre of

gravity a strong wooden handle. The iron terminates, at one end, in an obtuse point, at the other in a small curved axe or hoe.

HAG, *v.* to cut and shape with an axe.

HAG-WORM, *s.* the common snake (*coluber natrix*.)

HAIK, HAKE, *v.* to lounge, to loiter.

HANKLE, *v.* to tangle thread, silk, worsted, &c.

HAP, *v.* to cover up warmly.

HAPPINGS, *s.* coverings or bed clothes.

HASK, *adj.* coarse, harsh, rough.

HAVER, *s.* oats. HAVER-BREAD, large, round, and thin oaten cakes, baked on a girdle. It is also called CLAP-BREAD, having been formerly beaten out by the hands.

HEALD, *v.* to incline to bend laterally.

HECK, *s.* a hatch or half-door.

HECK BERRY, *s.* the bird's cherry (*prunus padus*); originally

HEDGE-BERRY

HIPPINGS, *s.* cloths for infants.

HIRPLE, *v.* to limp, to creep.

HIVES, *s.* water-blebs; from Hove, to heave, or swell up.

HOAST, *s.* a dry cough, a hoarseness.

HOCKER, *v.* to scramble awkwardly over a wall, broken bank, &c.

HOLME, *s.* a low and level field, skirted by a river.

HOLTS, *s.* peaked hills covered with wood.

HOUGH, HOWE, *s.* a hollow or dell.

HOWK, *v.* to dig.

HUD, HOOD, or HOB, *s.* the side of the fire-place.

HUDDLE, *v.* to embrace.

HULL, *s.* a building in which turkies, fowls, ducks, geese, or hogs are confined. When the animal is to be fattened, the Hull is made dark and small, so that no exercise can be taken in it.

HURTLE, *v.* to contract the body into a round form, as through pain, severe cold, &c. Hence the botanical term Whortle.

J.

JARBLE, *v.* to wet, to bedew, as by walking in long grass after dew or rain.

JIMMER, *s.* a hinge.

JIMP, *adj.* slender, elegant.

JOCKELEGS, *s.* a strong knife with two blades.

JOP, *s.* the sound of water agitated in a narrow or irregular vessel.

JUMPS, *s.* stays.

K.

KAIL, *s.* broth made of greens.

KEN-SPECKLE, *adj.* marked, conspicuous.

KEP, *v.* to catch.

KERN, *s.* a churn.

KESH, *s.* the hollow stem of an umbelliferous plant.

KET, *s.* carrion.

KILT, *v.* to truss up the clothes.

KIRTLE, *s.* a petticoat.

KIST, *s.* a large chest.

KIT, *s.* a covered milking-pail with two handles.

KITE, *s.* the abdomen. *Running to kite* signifies "becoming corpulent." Blackberries are called *Bumble-kites*.

KITTLE, for "tickle."

KNACK, *v.* to speak finely or smartly; to affect a style beyond the person's education.

KNAGGS, *s.* pointed rocks, or rugged tops of hills.

KNAP, *s.* a small round eminence; any protuberance. Hence *Knapweed* and *Knap-sack*.

KNAP or KNEP, *v.* to break short off with the teeth.

KNOLL, KNOW, or KNOWL, *s.* a bare rounded hillock.

KNURL, *s.* a hunch-backed dwarf.

L.

LACE, *v.* to beat, to flog.

LAKE, *v.* to play. LAKING, *s.* a plaything.

LAM, *v.* to beat with the fist.

LANG-SETTLE, *s.* a long oaken seat with a carved back and arms.

LAP UP, *v.* to cover with a lappet.

LAWK, or LOWK, *v.* to weed, to clear.

LAVE, *s.* residue; those who are left, or omitted.

LEA, or LEE, *s.* a rich meadow.

LEACH, *s.* a scythe; from *Lee*, and *ag* to cut.

LEAT, *v.* to seek, to fetch, to invite.

LEATING, *s.* pronounced LATE, LATING; invitation. LEATING, or LATING-ROW, is the district from which matrons are invited by special summons to be present at a child-birth, or at the death of any of the inhabitants. Should a matron within the limits have been, through inadvertence or mistake, omitted on such an occasion, it is an affront not to be forgiven.

LEATH, or LAITH, *s.* a barn.

LECK ON and OFF, *v.* to pour on, and drain off, gradually.

LEW, *adj.* mild, calm.

LEW-WARM, *adj.* luke-warm.

LICK, *v.* to beat. LICKING, *s.* a beating.

LIDS, *s.* kind, or resemblance.

LIEF, *adv.* willingly. LIEFER, more willingly, or rather.

LIG, *v.* to lay.

LILE, *adj.* little.

LISTER, *s.* a three-pronged and barbed dart, with which salmon, &c. are struck and taken.

LOCKER, *s.* a small cupboard with a lock.

LOP, *s.* a flea.

LOUT, *v.* to bow in the rustic fashion.

LOW, *s.* a bright flame.

LOW, *v.* to blaze. *particip.* LOWING.

LOWES, *s.* small hills or eminences on a flat. The word is contrasted with holts.

LOWND, sheltered from the wind.

LUM, *s.* 1. a deep hole in the bed of a river; 2. a chimney.

LURDEN, lazy; a drone.

LYTHE, *v.* to listen.

M.

MACKS, or MAKES, *s.* sorts, fashions.

MADDLE, *v.* to talk inconsistently, to be delirious.

MAFFLE, *v.* to puzzle, to act by means inadequate to the attainment of the object or end proposed. A MAFFLING.

MAPPEN, mayhap.

MARROW, *s.* a mate; an equal, a similar. MARROWS, two alike, or corresponding to each other, as the right hand and left hand glove, &c.

MAUNDER, *v.* to wander, to talk much, but irregularly and confusedly.

MELL, *v.* to meddle.

MELL, *s.* a heavy mallet.

METERLY, *adv.* moderately, within bounds.

MENSE, *s.* decorum, propriety of conduct.

MENSELESS, *adj.* ill bred, indecorous.

MENSE-PENNY, *s.* liberality conducted by prudence.

MERE, *s.* a lake.

MERRY-NIGHT, a rustic ball. These are celebrated in farm-houses, chiefly about Christmas, and prove so interesting, that the young people cannot be kept from them. The amusement consists of athletic dancing, in all the lower modes of that art, of interludes by maskers, mimics, and gesticulators, and of the ancient sword-dance. Tea, cakes, fruit, strong ale, and strong punch, besides kissing and romping, "with gallantry robust," form an indispensable part of the entertainment. At midnight, all the parties engaged depart in separate groups, cheering the way with jocund raillery, heartfelt laughter, and shouts of exultation. The bodings of the howlet, or night-crow, are unheeded by the votaries of Euphrosynè; no direful phantom glides athwart their path in gloomy avenues; no demons obstruct their passage by lonely barns, mouldering ruins, or ivy-covered bridges. Each rustic nymph is finally conducted by her partner of the dance to her father's house, into which both enter without noise, and seated on the antique *lang-settle*, prolong conversation in gentle whispers, till the first streaks of dawn admonish the youth to retire.

Should a moralist of the south feel inclined to censure the freedom of the northern maidens, let him remember the enormities committed at masquerades, balls, and assemblies, in our refined metropolis, where

women of character and distinction often place themselves in contact with dissolute females, or expose themselves to be improperly addressed by the most profligate of the other sex. The daughters of yeomen admit not into their assemblies any person of a doubtful reputation; with them the excitements of the Merry-night lead not to criminality, but terminate in honourable marriage. A lapse from chastity on these occasions scarcely occurs in a series of years; but if, in unguarded moments, a youthful pair shall yield to temptation, the seducer's conscience generally induces him to anticipate the open shame or utter distress of the frail damsel, and to make the only effectual reparation.

MIDDEN, or MUCK-HEAP, *s.* a collection of the dung of horses, cattle, &c. with other recréments, for manure.

MILANER, for MILLENER, *s.* The word is uniformly pronounced as above spelled, and I make no doubt it originated from Milan; that city, after the settlement of the Lombards in England, supplying laces, fine linen, and trinkets for the ladies, as well as swords for the men. See Dr. Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, Vol. I. p. 10.

MIRK, *adj.* dark.

MISLE, *v.* to rain in very small drops.

MITTANS, *s.* thick leather gloves, without separate fingers; used by labourers.

MOIDER, *v.* to puzzle. MOIDERED, bewildered.

MOME, *adj.* soft, smooth, sweetish; hence the liquor *Mum*.

MOME, *s.* a dull and ignorant person.

MOULTER, *s.* the portion of flour or meal abstracted from a given quantity, to compensate the miller for his trouble in grinding.

MOP, *v.* to prim, and look affectedly. MOPPET is a child so acting.

MORT, MORTH, MIRTH, or MURTH, *s.* a great many, great abundance.

Mow, *s.* a rick.

Mow, *v.* to copulate.

MOWE, MOWN, MOWGHT, *v.* Dialectical variations of *may*, *must*, and *might*.

MULL, *s.* dust of peats, or any small rubbish.

MUN, or MUND, *s.* the mouth.

N.

NAPPY, fine ale; a little intoxicated with it.

NASH, *adj.* fragile.

NEB, *s.* a point, a beak; sometimes the nose.

NEW-FANGLED, *adj.* proud, and fond of new clothes, or other articles.

NOB, *s.* the head.

O.

OUTRAKE, *s.* a bye-road; a passage for sheep from inclosed pastures, out upon the common. Dr. Percy thinks this word signified an out-ride or expedition, from *Raik*, to go fast. In writing the word *Out-track*, we should perhaps exhibit the right mode of spelling, as well as the derivation of it.

P.

PAFFLING, *adj.* silly and trifling.

PAN, *s.* to match, to agree, to assimilate. This must be borrowed from cookery.

PARROCK, or PADDOCK, *s.* a field adjoining to, or surrounding a house; a diminutive of park.

PAUKY, *adj.* sly, mischievous.

PAWP, *s.* the foot; generally a clumsy foot.

PEE, *v.* to spy at with one eye, or to look through contracted eyelids. PEED is blind of one eye.

PEG, *v.* to beat with sharp knuckles.

PETTLE, or PEDDLE, *v.* to trifle.

PICKLE, *s.* a little. [A single Seed. Jamieson.]

PICKLETS, PIKELETS, or PIKELINGS, *s.* small round cakes of fine flour, raised with yeast.

PIGGIN, *s.* a pail.

PIKE, *v.* to pick, to select.

PLEAN, *v.* to complain; hence PLEANY-PYE, a tell-tale.

POAK, *s.* a leathern bag.

POLL, *v.* to cut the hair.

PORRIDGE, *s.* oatmeal and water, hasty pudding.

PUBBLE, *adj.* fat, full, distended.

PYANNET, *s.* a magpie.

Q.

QUOY, *s.* pronounced *Why*, a young cow.

QUOTH; *v.* abbreviated to quo', is in common use; QUETHE is no longer employed.

R.

RAFF, *s.* scum, refuse. RIFF-RAFF is an alliterative term of reproach.

RAKEL, *adj.* riotous, profligate (Chaucer). RAKEI, a spendthrift, is at present corrupted into Rake-Hell.

RAME, or REAM, *v.* to reach, or stretch after.

RANDIES, *s.* itinerant beggars and ballad singers.

RANTRY, *s.* (perhaps Ram-tree; Roun-tree, Jamieson;) the mountain-ash, *Sorbus aucuparia*. This is a tree of high consideration. A branch of it suspended with the red berries being thought sufficient to guard a family against witchcraft.

RAPIER DANCE, *s.* This is nearly the same as the Sword-Dance among the ancient Scandinavians, or as that described by Tacitus among the Germans. The performers are usually dressed in a white frock, or covered with a shirt, to which, as also to their hats, or paper helmets, are appended long black ribbons. They frequently go from house to house, about Christmas, and are treated with ale after their military exercise. At merry-nights, and on other festive occasions, they are introduced one after another by the names and titles of heroes, from Hector and Paris, princes of Troy, down to Guy of Warwick. A spokesman then repeats some verses in praise of each, and they begin to flourish the rapier. On a signal given, all the weapons are united, or interlaced, but soon withdrawn again, and brandished

by the heroes, who exhibit a great variety of evolutions, being usually accompanied by slow music. In the last scene, the Rapiers are united round the neck of a person kneeling in the centre, and when they are suddenly withdrawn, the victim falls to the ground: he is afterwards carried out, and a mock funeral is performed with pomp, and solemn strains.

REAR, *adj.* almost raw; little roasted.

RIDDLE, *s.* a wire sieve.

RIFT, *v.* to eruct.

RIG, *s.* a wanton. "To run a rig upon," is to teize, to banter.

RIGS, *s.* ridgy eminences.

ROGGLE, or ROGGE, *v.* to shake, to jumble.

ROYTHER, *v.* the same as ROISTER, to behave turbulently; to make noise and confusion.

ROYTHERER, or ROISTERER, *s.* a man who is turbulent, swaggering, and uncontrollable.

ROUPE, *s.* a hoarseness.

RUCK, *s.* a fold, or plait, made in cloth by crushing it.

RUNG, *s.* a spoke; the step of a ladder.

S.

SACKLESS, *adj.* simple, weak, innocent. This epithet must have originated after the introduction of the favourite beverage, sack and sugar.

SARK, *s.* a shirt.

SCAR, *s.* a bare and broken place on the side of a mountain, or in the high bank of a river.

SCARD, *s.* a broken piece of any brittle substance.

SCARN, *s.* cow's dung.

SCONCE, *s.* a short partition on one side of the fire, upon which all the bright utensils in a cottage are suspended.

SCRIMP, *v.* to spare, to scant.

SCRIMP, *adj.* short, scanty.

SCROGGS, *s.* stunted trees.

SEALE, *s.* (in French, *Saule*) the *Salix alba*: hence SEALE-BANK signifies Willow-bank.

SEAR, *s.* autumn; the time of the drying and withering of leaves.

SEAVES, *s.* rushes.

SHAFFLING, *s.* an awkward and insignificant person.

SHANTEE, or SHANTY, *adj.* gay, showy. French, *Gentil*?

SHARD, *s.* 1. The shell or hard outward covering of the tribe of insects denominated *Coleoptera*. Thus the expressions in Shakespeare, *Sharded* and *Shard-born beetle*, are as correct as poetical; and we must be surprised to find in Johnson's Dictionary the following definition of *Shard-born*, viz. "Born or produced among broken stones or pots."

2. *Shard*, however, sometimes signifies the same as *Scar* or *Scard* (see above); and hence Dr. Johnson's mistake.

3. It denotes a break or vista in a forest, or a place cleared of trees; also an opening in a fence, which exhibits an extensive prospect. This is put, by a metathesis, "*Shrad*," *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, edit. 1794, Vol. I. p. 85.

"When SHAWS bene sheen, and SHRADDES full fair," &c. &c.

Dr. Percy here proposes to read *Swards*; but *Sward* (the surface of the ground) has not a plural.

We may conclude, that *Shard*, *Shrad*, *Sherd*, *Sheard*, *Scar* and *Scard*, are merely dialectical variations.

SHAW, *s.* a small shady wood in a valley.

SHEAR, *v.* to reap.

SHED, *v.* to put aside, to disperse, to make way.

SHIMMER, or SKIMMER, *v.* to shine, to glitter.

SHIRL, *v.* to slide on ice.

SHOCK, *s.* twelve sheaves of corn.

SHUPPEN, *s.* a cow-house.

SIDE, *adj.* long, extensive.

SIK, *pron.* or SIKLIKE, such.

SIKE, *s.* a streamlet of water. *Bor-sike*, the name of a place, signifies the cottage by the sike; *Bord* (Saxon) being a cot.

SIL, *s.* the bottom of a door-case.

SILE, *v.* to strain milk through a coarse cloth; from Sil (Sax.) sediment or dirt.

SKEN, *v.* to squint.

SKER, *v.* to slide swiftly, to skait.

SKEW, *v.* to go aside, or obliquely, to throw any thing so.

SKIRL, *v.* to shriek.

SKREENGE, *v.* or SKRINGE, to squeeze violently.

SKYBY, *adj.* shy, reluctant, averse.

SLADE, *s.* a breadth of green-sward in plough'd land, or in plantations.

SLAKE, *v.* to smear, to wet, or bedaub.

SLAPE, *adj.* slippery.

SLATTER, or SLAT, *v.* to pour aukwardly, to spill, to slop. Hence SLATTERN.

SLIR, *v.* to slip, to slide.

SLOCKEN, *v.* to quench.

SMITTLE, *adj.* contagious.

SMOOR, *v.* to smother.

SNAG, *v.* to hew, or cut rudely with an axe, &c.

SNAG, *s.* a knot, a bunch; the same as KNAG?

SNAP, or SNEAP, *v.* to check, to rebuke.

SNECK, *s.* the latch of a door.

SNIGGS, *s.* small eels.

SNOD, *adj.* even, smooth. Hence SNOD-GRASS.

SNUB, *v.* to check, or correct roughly.

SPANGWHEW, *v.* to toss with violence. This word sometimes expresses a cruel operation on the toad, to which animal rustics have a great antipathy. They rest one half of a long wooden bar on a horsing-stone or over a cart, placing the toad at its extremity. An athletic youth, holding a strong baton, then strikes with all his force the unsupported end, in consequence of which the poor animal is projected upwards in a long parabola, and at length, falling to the ground with accumulated velocity, is bruised to a jelly. Toads may perhaps do some slight injury in fields or gardens, but the above cruel practice is directed not so much against the animal as against its supposed inmate; for the clowns imagine that by the process mentioned, they shall give the coup de grace to a witch.

SPANE, or SPEAN, *v.* to wean.

SPANKER, *s.* a tall, and active young person.

SPENCE, *s.* a country parlour.

SPERE, *v.* to ask, to enquire.

SPICK and SPAN, quite new and fresh.

SPINK, *s.* the chaffinch.

SPUNK, *s.* mettle, vivacity.

STANG, *s.* a pole, the side or shaft of a cart.

“Riding the stang for a neighbour’s wife.” This is performed when a woman has gained the ascendancy over her husband, so as to make him bear every species of indignity.

A man is set astraddle on a long pole supported by the shoulders of his companions. In such an uneasy situation, he may be supposed to represent or to sympathize with his henpecked friend, whose misery he sometimes laments in doggrel rhimes. The procession passes through the whole hamlet, with a view of exposing or shaming the viraginous lady, and of thus preventing further outrages on the person of her partner.

STANK, *v.* to sigh, and moan.

STARK, *adj.* stiff, unyielding.

START, *s.* a tail, or a handle ascending obliquely. Hence the name RED-START to one of the *Motacillæ*.

STEAK, (pronounced *Stuke*,) *v.* to shut.

STECK, *s.* a stop, a sticking place. “To take the steck, or steg,” is to become restive.

STEG, *s.* a gander.

STEY, *s.* a ladder. The word *stairs* was originally spelled *steyers*, as in Chaucer.

STIDDIE, *s.* an anvil.

STIRK, *s.* a cow, or bullock about a year old.

STOCHE, *s.* a stab by a pointed weapon. This is of the same origin as STITCH, a lancinating pain.

STAW'D, or STOED, saturated, fatigued. Originally, perhaps, STALLED, or STAIL-FED.

STOOK, *s.* a shock of corn.

STORCKEN, *v.* to stiffen; from STARK.

- STORE, *s.* estimation, regard.
 STOTT, *s.* a young ox.
 STOUP, *s.* a post.
 STOUR, *v.* to raise dust, to make a bustle.
 STOWER, *s.* a hedge-stake.
 STRETCH, *v.* to walk in a dignified manner.
 SWANG, *s.* a part of a pasture covered with water.
 SWANKER, or SWANKIE, *s.* a strapping young man.
 SWARBLE, or SWARM, *v.* to climb up the bole of a tree by the muscular action of the arms, thighs, and legs.
 SWATCH, *s.* a piece cut off.
 SWATCH, *v.* to separate, or cut off.
 SWATH-BAUKS, *s.* the edges of grass between the semicircular cuttings of the scythe.
 SWAYMOUS, *adj.* squeamish or shy.
 SWEAL, *s.* a blaze, an enlarged flame.
 SWEAL, *v.* to blaze, to burn away rapidly.
 SWEDDLE, *v.* to swell. SWEDDLED, puffed out.
 SWEIGH, *v.* to move backwards and forwards, or up and down, on a gate, a balanced board, the branch of a tree, &c.
 SWELT, *v.* to broil. SWELTED, overcome with heat and perspiration.
 SWIDDEN, *v.* to scorch, to singe.
 SWILL, *s.* a wicker basket, used by washer-women.
 SWIRTLE, *v.* to proceed with a waving motion like an eel.
 SWITCH, *v.* to walk with a light quick step.

T.

- TANK, *s.* a piece of deep water, natural or artificial.
 TARN, *s.* a pool on a mountain.
 TAVING, *s.* irregular motion; picking the bed-clothes in febrile delirium.
 TEDDING, this word is applied to the spreading of hay, also to the dressing of hair and flax.
 TEEM, *v.* to pour out of one vessel into another.
 TESTRIL, *s.* a mischievous, ill-behaved boy; a scape-grace.

TEW, *v.* to tumble over, to teize, or discompose.

THIBLE, *s.* a smooth, round stick, used to stir broth, or the porridge of oatmeal and water.

THRANG, *adj.* very busy.

THRAVE, *s.* twenty-four sheaves of corn set up together.

THREAP, *v.* to argue pertinaciously, or to maintain by assertion.

THRING, *v.* to thrust, to press in, to squeeze.

THWAITE, *s.* a level pasture field.

TIFLE, *v.* to entangle, to mix and knot threads together.

TIG, *s.* 1. a slap, as a mode of salutation.

2. the last blow in sparring.

3. a play among children, on separating for the night, in which every one endeavours to get the last touch.

TIRL, *v.* to make a slight scratching noise; to turn over the leaves of a book quickly.

TITTER, or TIDDER, sooner, earlier; from TIDE.

TOAD-BIT, a disease of cattle, absurdly imputed to the poison of toads. It is analogous to the species of *ignis sacer* in sheep, denominated by the ancients *ostigo*, which, according to Columella, *os atque labra fœdis ulceribus obsidet, et mortifera est lactentibus*. Lib. vii. cap. 5. He refers it to acrid dew or blights.

This is one of the diseases, against which *lustration by need-fire* is employed: an instance of the practice occurred near Sedbergh three years ago.

TOUFFA, *s.* a small shed, at the end of farm-houses, to contain implements of agriculture and gardening. Is it from the French *Touffet*?

TRAMPERS, *s.* beggars who traverse extensive tracts of country, soliciting from door to door. A handful of oatmeal is what they usually receive at farm-houses.

TRIKSY, *adj.* playful, wanton, mischievous.

TRIG, *adj.* 1. spruce, fine, tricked out.

2. full, distended.

TUP, *s.* a ram.

TYKE, *s.* a blunt and vulgar fellow.

U.

UNDIGHT, undressed, or undecked.

UNMACKLY, ill-shapen, of a clumsy appearance.

W.

WADE, *v.* to walk through water, snow, or sludge.

WAITE, and WAKE, *v.* to sit up with a person all night, or to watch by a corpse.

WALLE, *v.* to boil.

WALL-EYE, *s.* an eye resembling a boiled eye.

WALM, *s.* a slight boiling.

WALLOW, *adj.* insipid.

WARE, *v.* to expend, to lay out money on WARES.

WARK, *v.* to ach. HEAD-WARK, head-ache.

WARRE, for WORSE.

WEATHER-GLEAM, *v.* to see a man, animal, or tree, on the ridge of a lofty hill, so that the body shall appear in the sky. In this situation, a man looks gigantic: he seems to tread on air, and to be clad with radiance, like one of Ossians departed heroes.

WEET, or WATE, *v.* to know, to be aware of. WEETING, *partic.* WEETINGLY, *adv.* WIT, *s.*

WERE, or WEIR, *s.* a pool connected with a river, or stagnant water in the recess of a river.

WHAINLY, *adv.* for QUAINLY:

WHAMP, *s.* a wasp.

WHANG, *s.* a thong; a piece of cheese.

WHAP, *s.* a knock-down blow.

WHAP, *v.* to beat soundly.

WHAPPER, *s.* any thing of a very great size. In many other instances our forefathers seem to have estimated weights and magnitudes by the force of their blows. Thus, they employed in gradation, the terms *slapper, smacker, banger, thumper, twacker, swinger, and rattler.* The

word *bumper*, concerning which much has been said and surmised, is not of a more exalted origin than what is here stated.

WHEAM, *adj.* smooth, sheltered, impervious to wind.

WHEAMLY, *adv.* smoothly, gently.

WHEAN, or WHAIN, *v.* to coax, to flatter.

WHEY-WHIG, *s.* whey impregnated with mint, balm, and walnut leaves.

WHIDDER, *v.* to shake or shiver.

WHILK, *pron.* which.

WHINGE, *v.* to cry and sob.

WHINS, *s.* gorse or furze.

WHITE, *v.* to cut and shape wood with a knife.

WHITTLE, *s.* a butcher's knife.

WICK, *s.* 1. a bay or small port on the side of a river.

2. a village so situated.

WIDDERSFUL, *adj.* laborious, endeavouring.

WIGHTY, *adj.* strong, and active.

WISE-MAN, *s.* a magician. Mr. Burn, in his *History of Westmorland*, has said enough on this subject.

WILL-O-WISP. I once saw this little irregular meteor, in a moonless night of autumn. It was of the size of the flame of a rush-light, and it proceeded in the direction of a wet furrow at the lowest part of a stubble field. Its motion was up and down, like the vagarious flight of a butterfly. I lost sight of it at a hazel fence, through the branches of which it seem'd to glide.

WIZENED, *adj.* dry, shrunk, and wrinkled.

WRAWE, *adj.* angry.

WRAWLING, *s.* quarrelling, or contending with a loud voice. *Raising a wrow* is exciting a quarrel, and confusion in the streets, &c.

WROUT, or GROUT, *v.* to bore; to dig up like a hog.

WRYDDEN, *adj.* cross, and ill-natured.

Y.

YARK, or YERK, *v.* to wrench, or twist forcibly.

YATE, pronounced *Yett*, a gate to a farm-yard, a close, or common.

YULE, *s.* the winter solstice; Christmas. This term is now seldom used.

YURE, *s.* an udder.

CONCLUSION.

1. It may be observed that nearly all the words in the above list are Saxon or Anglo-Saxon radicals. The few words of Gaelic interspersed, have been, I think, adopted from the choruses of popular Irish songs, since the accession of his present Majesty. Rivers and mountains often retain their names for many ages, even in countries that have been successively occupied by tribes of different origins and different languages. The name of the river Lon, which intersects the district where my observations were made, seems to be the only Celtic word remaining in it. *Lon* denotes a river, forming, before it disembogues, a lake, or large expanse of water, resembling an arm of the sea.

2. There does not appear to be sufficient ground for the idea entertained by Dr. Jamieson, and some others, who maintain that the lowland Scotch and the English are different languages. Any variations of accent, or in the mode of spelling, do not contribute to establish the point, when we find on examination, what has been found in the present instance, that both the radicals and the grammar are precisely the same. Hence a person born in any of the northern counties of England understands ancient and modern Scottish poetry, and enjoys it as much as the Scots themselves.^a

^a Dr. Jamieson has made the difference of the two languages *appear*, greater by embodying in his Etymological Dictionary, with the present Scottish dialect, terms which have been disused for more than two hundred years. If a collection of words were made from our most ancient English songs, &c. and added to the present dialect in any inland county, we should find the languages, in tracing them backwards, not diverge, but approximate.

3. The learned author just mentioned thinks the Gothic tribes had enriched their own barren dialect, by adopting the names of some of the most interesting objects in nature from the language of the Celtæ. Against this position we may set off the great diversity of denominations purely Saxon, given to the component parts of landscapes, as to hills, woods, fields, rivers, villages, and mansion houses, according to their situation or appearances, viz.

1. Fell	2. Forest	3. Lea	4. Rivulet	5. Bye
Holt	Shawl	Thwaite	Beck	Thorpe
Lowe	Shard	Haugh	Burn	Hall
Knoll	Grove	Bent	Weer	Biggin
Brae	Glade	Shilla	Lamb	Stoke
Scar	Combe	Slade	Swirl	Court
Cragg	Hurst	Outrake	Gill	Touffa
Clough	Thicket	Parrock	Streamlet	Stay
(or Heugh)	Wild		Sike	Wick
			Gool	Grange
			Mere and	Stead
			Tarn	Stowe
				Gore
				Werth.

This variety of terms, applicable to objects in landscape, is beyond the present compass of our language; and, in former times, when more extensive, must have been highly ornamental in poetry. They are mistaken who suppose that the conquering Saxons attended only to the din of arms, and operations of war. Bards or minstrels were encouraged by them at all times; and a poet, in the full sense of the word, had obtained great celebrity both in the island and on the continent, at the very beginning of the seventh century.* His works have not been preserved to us, nor does the succeeding period of the heptarchy exhibit many efforts of the muse. Men inclined to contemplation,

* Acta Sanctorum in Vita Sti. Oswaldi.

leisure, and study, became monks; and Saxon genius, by the mode of education and bad taste of foreign associates, was turned from its natural bias to rhyming in a dead language, the poetry of which depended on sublimity with rhythm, but not on rhyme or alliteration.

4. In the preceding pages, a reference has been occasionally made to the superstitious notions of the inhabitants of the West Riding: their practices and observances do not, however, materially differ from those stated in Mr. Brand's Popular Antiquities.

When the sun shines brightly on St. Paul's day, they think a man may ascertain whether he shall die or not in the course of the ensuing year. He is to spend the forenoon in fasting, silence, and solitude, then to walk out at twelve o'clock in an open place. If the shadow appear without a head, his fate is decided; he will not outlive the year.

Young females disposed to observe the day set apart for *St. Agnes*, are to fast from the morning, and must go to bed backwards, in profound silence. They expect then to see their future husbands cross the room, or to behold them in a dream.

A man will sometimes pretend to watch, through *St. Mark's night*, in the porch of the church. I do not think this has ever been actually done in the last fifty years; but the person supposed to have made the vigil, and to have seen the parishioners who must die that year pass him in their usual dress, is a terror to his neighbours; for, on the least offence received, he is apt, by significant hints and grimaces, to insinuate the speedy death of some cherished friend or relative.

On *St. Mark's eve*, some young women follow the ancient method of sowing hemp-seed; others prepare the dumb-cake with ingredients traditionally suggested in witching doggrel, viz.

“ An egg-shell full of salt,
“ An egg-shell full of malt,
“ An egg-shell full of barley-meal.”

When prepared, it is put in the pan for baking. At the proper time, a young man, who is to be the votary's husband, comes to turn the cake, and retires. Others may witness the ceremony, and, if they

please, pan their cakes in succession. However, all of them must be supperless, and keep a profound silence, whatever may appear; otherwise they are taught to expect some immediate and direful consequences.

XII. *An Account of some Roman Remains near Llandrindod, in a Letter from the Rev. Thomas Price to Theophilus Jones, Esq. F. S. A. Communicated by Nicholas Carlisle, Esq. Secretary.*

Read 14th November, 1811.

DEAR SIR,

Brecon, October 28th, 1811.

I SEND you a sketch and letter, which I lately received from a young but intelligent and zealous antiquary; you will be pleased to communicate them to the Society, if you think them worthy of their attention.

The great camp and *station* at Cwm, in the parish of Llanvihangel-Helygen, is the same that is mentioned by Mr. Strange, in a paper read to the Society, in May and June, 1774, and, I believe, published in the *Archaeologia*.^a He is inclined to fix the *Magnis* of Antoninus (he says) at Cwm; but I must take leave to differ from him here: later antiquaries have, I think, correctly placed Magna or Magnis at Kentchester in Herefordshire. Certain I am that this station (for such it appears to have been) lies very much out of the road from Gobannium, or Abergavenny, to Uriconium, or Wroxeter. It is forty-four miles from the first mentioned place; and a traveller from the first station to the latter, by Cwm, would describe nearly the same angle as one starting from Guildford in Surry through Reading to London.

Cwm was, I apprehend, the next station on the south-west to Caer-Sws in Montgomeryshire, and situated on the *Via Helena*, or more correctly, in my opinion, *Via Leona*, the Chester road; that city being called Caer-Lleon-Gawr. At Cwm this road bifurcated; one branch proceeding through the hundred of Builth, near Llan-

^a Mr. Strange errs, in placing the camp in Llanyre. The Cwm house is in that parish; but that part of the farm where the remains of the Roman station are now discernible, is in Llanfihangel-helygen, or St. Michael's of the Willow.

doverly, and along the north side of the Towy to Muridunum, or Carmarthen: the other branch led to the station at Gaer near Brecon; soon after which it again formed two lines, one proceeding to Nidum, or Neath, and the other directing its course more westwardly to Tre-castle, Tal y Sarn, and along the south side of Towy, until it united again with the road just abovementioned at Muridunum.

I fear we seek in vain for either the Roman or most ancient British name of the station at Cwm; for Castell Coll-llwyn, the Castle of the Brake, or in the Brake, only describes its dilapidated state, when even its ruins were overrun with underwood. It is remarkable, that though this castle (as the Welsh call it) is situated in the hundred of Melenydd, its name should be similar, and indeed the same, though differently pronounced, as a hundred lower down the Wye, called Coll-wyn, correctly Coll-llwyn, for the same reason as the site of the fortress is now so denominated; because that district also was anciently overgrown with underwood.

If I should hereafter discover any thing further as to the name of this place, which may amount to somewhat more than conjecture, if I may hope to meet with their approbation, it shall be communicated to the Society by

Dear Sir,

Their and your obedient humble servant,

THEOPHILUS JONES.

NICHOLAS CARLISLE, Esq.
Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries.

I SEND you a sketch of as much as I have seen of the Roman Remains near Llandrindod: there may be much more hid among the furze, &c. Perhaps you may be able to discover what they were intended for; I have formed several conjectures, but none perfectly to my own satisfaction, as to their origin or uses. I suppose they

must have been *Campi æstivi* of some kind; but (perhaps because I do not comprehend their alignment) they do not give me a very high opinion of Roman tactics. Sometimes I have been inclined to believe they were formed by the soldiers for their accommodation when clearing the country of its woods in this part; and at others I have considered them as intended for the purpose of protection from the natives while the road was in making, and that some were deserted, and others formed again, further on, successively, according to the progress made by the workmen on the road; for they do not deviate much from the straight line of the Roman road, except for the purpose of gaining the high ground: and perhaps they were continued for several miles along the road, but have been demolished in the cultivation of the country. They could not have been all occupied at once, as they would contain two or three legions. I think most of them would contain a *manipulus*, if not a cohort.

I mentioned the place to Mr. Payne, and he thought it must have been an ancient British town, such as is described by Cæsar; but then why should it lie along the Roman road? These remains reach upwards of a mile and a half, and are eighteen in number. Each camp or station is square, with acute angles; some longer one way; generally from twenty to thirty yards within the agger, with four entrances, one on each side; and opposite each entrance, at four or five yards distance, a kind of mound, which, I suppose, must have been the centinel's post. The agger is five or six yards thick, formed of earth, and sometimes a few stones are visible, but nothing like a wall: it is now very low in all of them, and in the highest not two feet high: indeed I have walked over some of them several times, in crossing the common, without noticing them; others are so hid among mole-hills, that I would not undertake to convince a stubborn "matter of fact fellow" that they are not the manufacture of the moles themselves. There is a small moat, about three or four feet wide, which surrounds the agger on the outside, except at the entrances, where it is discontinued. The agger was, I suppose, planted on the top with stakes (*sudes*).

The map (Pl. XII.) may not be very correct as to the distances; they were taken by stepping them: however, if you should chance to come this way, you may, by referring to the drawing, find them out, which, without it, would be difficult, as probably I am the only person acquainted with them all; and if the bill which is intended to be brought into parliament next sessions for enclosing these commons passes the House, all that remains of them will soon disappear; and even (as it is) many of them are becoming less discernible every year, from the inhabitants cutting off the surface for fuel: and some of the mounds, which I call the centinel's posts, have been completely shovelled away for that purpose.

There are on these commons seven barrows, five of which are near each other, different from the generality of barrows, in their being moated with a very shallow trench.

There is likewise a circle about fifty yards in diameter, formed of one pretty strong breast-work, and a trench on the outside, with an entrance, which, if it was not a druidical *something*, I take to have been a Roman circus or amphitheatre, where the soldiers had their games and shews: it could not possibly have been a military station, as it is not upon an eminence, but on the side of a bank, within one hundred yards of the top, and so commanded from thence: thus



Castell-coll-llwyn, the great camp or garrison at Cwm, now overgrown with underwood, is on the other side of the river, and has the appearance of having been a place of some strength: it is one hundred and twenty yards within the walls, built of hammered or rough hewn stones and brick. On the hills to the eastward are a number of small cairns, which I have sometimes thought to be the graves of the Britons who fought with the Romans below; but in all probability they too

knew the way to cut each other's throats before the Romans came among them.

I am, Sir, your's truly,

THOMAS PRICE, Clerk,
Curate of Llanyre.

N. B. The great camp at Cwm is not placed in the sketch in its situation relatively to the small encampments, but is introduced there to shew its bearing *nearly*: it is one mile N. W. of them in the direction to which the line representing the Roman road leads.





CEFN-LLYS

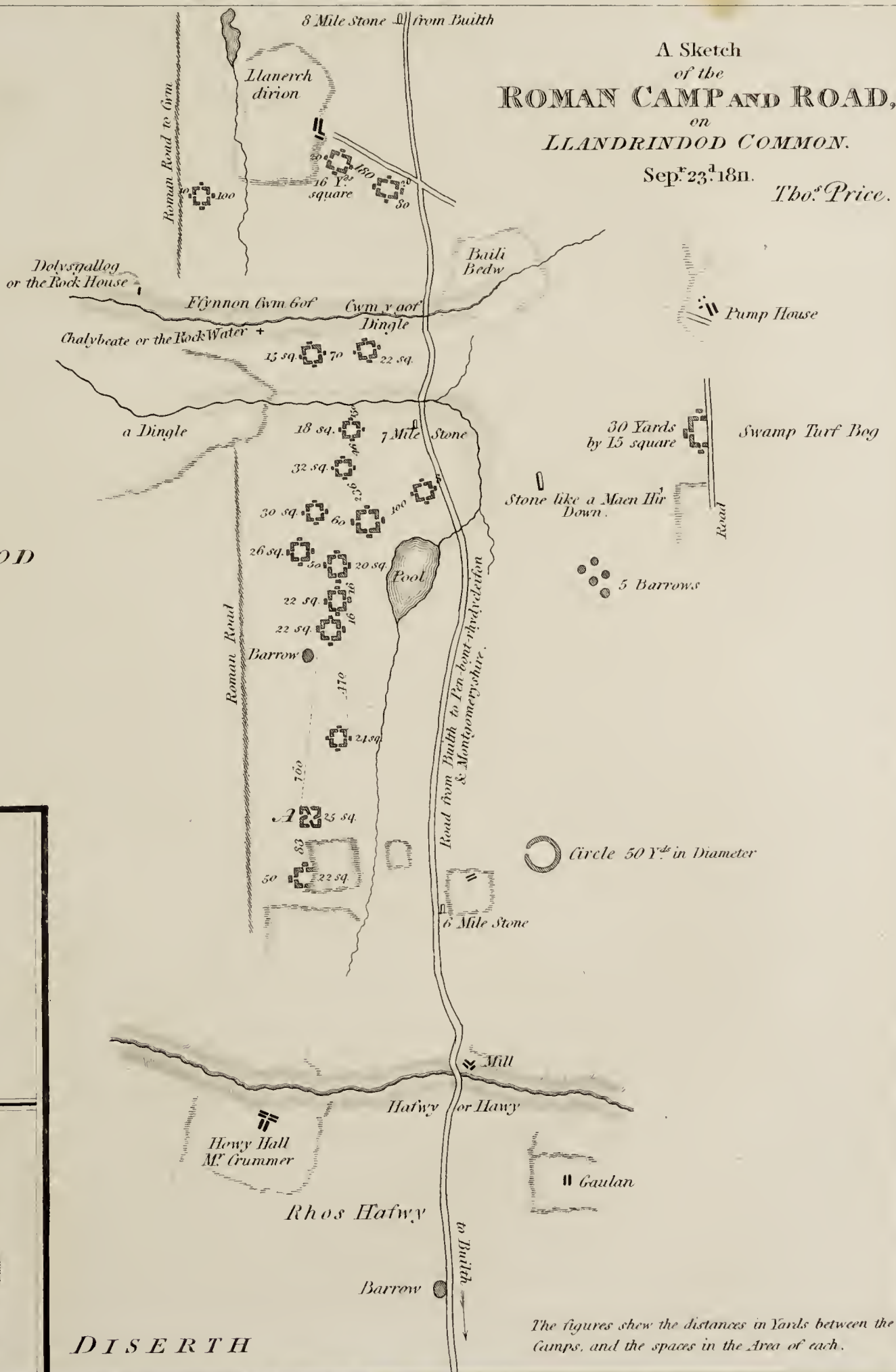


LLANDRINDOD

FORM of CAMP A.



FORM of the CAMPS in General.



DISERTH

XIII. *Communication of an inedited Fragment of Anglo-Saxon Poetry, in a Letter from the Rev. J. J. Conybeare, M.A. Anglo Saxon Professor in the University of Oxford, to Henry Ellis, Esq. F.R.S. and S.A.*

Read 28th November, 1811.

Christ Church, Oxford, Nov. 1, 1811.

MY DEAR SIR,

IF the inedited fragment of Anglo-Saxon Poetry, which accompanies this letter, appear to you worthy of being submitted to the Society of Antiquaries it is entirely at your disposal.

It occurs towards the conclusion of a Manuscript Volume of Homilies contained in the Bodleian Library, and supposed by Wanley (who notices it in his catalogue affixed to Hicke's Thesaurus, page 15.) to have been written about the time of King Henry the second.

This short composition appears to present a specimen, not altogether uninteresting, of our language and poetry, at the latest period at which they could fairly be denominated Saxon. Productions of this æra are not (either in print or in manuscript) of very frequent occurrence.

The metre in which this Poem is written is evidently the alliterative one, universally adopted by the Anglo-Saxon writers of verse. Its rhythm appears (like that of its prototypes) to resemble the Trochaic or Dactylic measures of the Ancients, substituting however (as in all modern languages) emphasis in the place of quantity. It seems to me that it is inferior in regularity both of numbers and alliteration to the earlier specimens of Saxon-Poetry preserved to us by the labours of Hickes and Junius. This among other reasons would induce me to place the time of its composition lower than the æra of the Norman Conquest.

I have given those consonants in Italics which seem to have formed the metrical alliteration, and have added a Latin version, and another (made as nearly as possible word for word) in English Prose. Believe me,

My dear Sir,

Very truly, and obediently yours

J. J. CONYBEARE.

M.S. Bodl. 343.

“The þeþ *bold* *gebýlð*
 Eþ *thu* *ibopen* *pepe*,
 The þeþ *mold* *imýnt*
 Eþ *thu* of *modeþ* come
 The *hít* *neþ* no *idihit*
 Ne *theo* *deopneþ* *meten*
 Neþ *til* *ilocéð*,
Hu *long* *hít* *the* *pepe*,
 Nu me *the* *þþungæð*
 Weþ *thu* *beon* *þcealt*,
 Nu me *þceal* *the* *meten*
 And *tha* *mold* *þeodða*:
 Ne *biþ* no *thine* *hup*
Healce *itimbpeð*,
Hít *biþ* *unheh* and *lah*;
Thonne *thu* *biþt* *theþunne*
 The *heleþaþeþ* *beoþ* *laþe*,
Sidþaþeþ *unheþe*.
 The *þoþ* *biþ* *ýbúld*
 There *þþoþt* *þull* *neh*,
Spa *thu* *þcealt* in *mold*
Winnen *þul* *calð*,
Dunne and *þ* *deopcæ*.
 † *Thet* *clen* *þulæt* on *hod*.
Dunþealeþ *is* *thæt* *hup*,

Tibi fuit domus exstructa
 Priusquam natus es,
 Tibi fuit tellus parata
 Priusquam e matre venisti.
 Celsitudo non est constituta,
 Neque altitudo mensurata,
 Non est obserata
 (Quam diu tibi fuerit)
 Donec ego te feram
 Ubi manere debes,
 Donec ego te metiar,
 Et cubile terrenum.
 Nequaquam est tua domus
 Alte ædificata,
 Est ea non alta ac humilis;
 Ubi es intus,
 Spatium a calce humile est,
 A latere non altum.
 Fastigium est exstructum
 Pectus tuum juxta,
 Ita debes in terrâ
 Habitare valde frigide,
 Obscurâ et tenebrosa.
 Januâ caret domus ea

DEATH SPEAKS.

For thee was a house built
 Ere thou wert born,
 For thee was a mould shapen
 Ere thou of (*thy*) mother camest.
 Its height is not determined,
 Nor its depth measured,
 Nor is it closed up
 (However long it may be)
 Untill I thee bring
 Where thou shalt remain;
 Untill I shall measure thee
 And the sod of earth.
 Thy house is not
 Highly built (timbered),
 It is unhigh and low;
 When thou art in it
 The heel-ways are low,
 The side-ways unhigh.
 The roof is built
 Thy breast full nigh;
 So thou shalt in earth
 Dwell full cold,
 Dim, and dark.
 That clean putrifies. . . .
 Doorless is that house,

§ Deorcæ. This word in writings of an earlier date is uniformly spelt *deorc*, or *deorce*. The substitution indeed of the æ for the quiescent e, appears not to have prevailed till after the conquest. This will shew that the copy of Cædmon's hymn, given by Wanley (page 287 of his Catalogue) is not, as some have supposed, more pure in its orthography than those published in Hickes and in Alfred's Bede.

† Of the signification of the last two words in this line I am entirely ignorant.

And *deopre* hit is *pidinnen*,
Dær thu bist *feſt biðte*,
And *Dæth* heſth tha *cæge*.
Laðlic is thæt *eopð huſ*,
And *gum inne to punien*.
Then thu *ſcealt wunien*
And *wurmes the to deleth*.
Ðuſ thu bist *ſleðð*,
And *laðæſt thine fionden*,
Neſt thu *uene fjeonð*
The the *pýlle fapen to*,
Thæt æſpe *pule lokien*
Hu the thæt huſ the like,
Thæt æſpe *undon*
The *pule tha dune*,
And the æſpe *hæten*
For ſone thu bist *laðlic*
And *lað to ſeonne*.

Et obscurum est intus,
Illic es arcte detentus,
Et mors habet clavem.
Odiosa est ea domus terrea,
Et tristis ad intus habitandum,
Illic debes versari
Et vermes partientur te.
Ita jaces
Et linquis amicos tuos,
Habes nullum amicum
Qui te velit adire,
Qui unquam spectatum veniet
Quomodo tibi domus ea arrideat,
Qui unquam reserare
Tibi poterit januam
Et te quærere,
Citò enim es odiosus,
Et teter ad inspiciendum.

And dark it is within;
There thou art fast detained,
And Death holds the key.
Loathly is that earth-house,
And grim to dwell in;
There thou shalt dwell
And worms shall share thee.
Thus thou art laid
And leavest thy friends;
Thou hast no friend,
That will come to thee,
Who will ever enquire
How that house liketh thee,
Who shall ever open
For thee the door
And seek thee,
For soon thou becomest loathly,
And hateful to look upon.

XIV. *An Account of a Bronze Figure found at Richborough, in Kent, representing a Roman Soldier playing on the Bagpipes, in a Letter from the Rev. Stephen Weston, B. D. F. R. S. and S. A. to Sir Henry Charles Englefield, Bart. P. S. A. &c. &c.*

Read 5th December, 1811.

SIR,

Edward Street, 30th November, 1811.

IN digging up the foundations of the Prætorian camp at Richborough, was found a small Bronze Figure of a Roman Soldier playing on a pair of Bagpipes, which Mr. King, in his *Munimenta Antiqua*, Vol. II. p. 22, Pl. XX. tells us was presented to him by Mr. Boys, and that he has given three views of it, as an instrument of music borrowed by the Scots from the Romans, in the manner they did the plaid, and the mode of wearing it, from the toga.

In confirmation of this opinion with respect to the bagpipes, I beg leave to say a word.

It appears from Plutarch, in his life of Numa Pompilius, (edit. Bryan. p. 155.) that he instituted companies (*Koinonías*) of artists, and gave them laws. Among other fraternities, we find, in Gruter, *Corpus et Collegium Utriculariorum*, and in Spon, *Miscell. erudit. antiquitatis*,

COLLEGIO. VTRICLAR.

C. IVL. CATVLINVS DON. POS.

And in the inscription found among the antiquities of the Danube, where the last line but one reads

DEAE NEMESI
AEL DIOGENES
ET SILLA VALERIA
· · · · ·
· · · · ·
· · · · ·
· · · · ·
TEMPLVM EX SVA
FECERVNT COLLE
GIO VIRI CLARI
ORVM.

The two last lines are faulty, and should be read, when corrected, *VTRICLARIORVM*, by the slight change of an I into a T.

The name of Utricularius occurs in Tranquillus's *Life of Nero*, in six inscriptions of Gruter, in Reinesius, and Spon, and in the Glossary of Philoxenus; see also Suidas, where it is called Ασκαύλης, or bag-piper.

The ancients made various uses of skins, or utres: first, for keeping and transporting wines from place to place; secondly, for the conveying of water to an army, as mentioned in Livy, speaking of Utrariorum, qui utribus aquam afferunt. edit. Paris, 1679; p. 558, lib. 44. 33. and this not only abroad in dry and parched countries, but at home, in pusillis utribus, in small bags, ad cœnam, like our water glasses for the washing of hands. c. 34, p. 136, ed. 4to. Burman. Petronii.

There was also the skin in question used, first, by shepherds and countrymen, called utriculus, or bag-pipe, for inflation with a reed; which Nero, when sick, vowed he would play upon in public, as soon as he was well enough, and could dance Turnus on the stage. Bladders were also employed for swimming, or for boats, like those still

on the river Tigris, and by the help of which, Bacchus, as Nonnus tells us, passed a river in India.

Δέρματι Φυσάλει διαμέτρεεν ΙΝΔΟΝ ΥΔΑΣΠΗΝ.

(V. 150, p. 399, ed. Antw. lib. 23) By pouring the factitious gale into the swoln skins, he passed the Hydaspes on a blown bladder. See Quintus Curtius in his seventh book, and Arrian in his expedition of Alexander, book the third, where the soldiers pass rivers on skins stuffed with straw, and made water tight. I shall conclude this paper with an inscription preserved by Reinesius, and corrected by Schwartz of Altorf.

IN HDD
GENIO
VIRI CLAR
L CENSO
RINIVS
IBLIOMAR
CVRATOR
FVNCTVS
C TREVER
D S P DD.

In the third line is VIRI for VTRI, as before, and in the sixth, IBLIOMAR for IVLIOMAG: and then the whole will be Lucius Censorinius, Citizen of Treves, having been Curator of Juliomagus, at his own expense, dedicates this altar to the Genius of the Utricularii, in honour of the temple of the Gods, Domus Divinæ.

If it be asked, why in the Marsiglian inscription a temple for the use of the company of players on the bag-pipes should be dedicated to the goddess Nemesis, a military divinity, and avenger of injuries, I might answer, that the Bag-piper, whose figure in bronze was found in the Prætorian camp, was attached to the army. But perhaps it may be thought that an inscription in Gruter will furnish a better reason,

on which it is said that Nemesis, or Fortune, were one and the same,

DEAE NEMESI
SIVE FORTVNAE.

then the dedication will be to the goddess that could be of most use to them.

Sir, I have the honor to remain,

Yours and the Society's very humble servant,

STEPHEN WESTON.

XV. *Account of a Saxon Manuscript preserved in the Cathedral Library at Exeter, in a Letter from the Rev. J. J. Conybeare, A. M. Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford, to Henry Ellis, Esq. F. R. S. and S. A.*

Read 5th November, 1812.

MY DEAR SIR,

Christ Church, Oxford, 2d Nov. 1812.

AMONG the inedited Saxon Manuscripts at this day existing in the collections either of individuals or public bodies, there are probably few superior in interest to the volume of Miscellaneous Poetry given by Leofric, the first Bishop of Exeter, to the Cathedral Church of that diocese, and still preserved in its capitular library.

Either from the remote situation in which it is deposited, or the little curiosity which, from the days of Hickes till within these few years, has been excited by subjects of this description, this valuable monument of the language and genius of our forefathers (which may safely claim an antiquity of seven centuries and a half) has hitherto been known only by the scanty and somewhat inaccurate synopsis of its contents given by Wanley in his Catalogue of Saxon Manuscripts. (P. 280, N° II.)

To peruse and analyze the whole of the several poems contained in the volume, (a moderately sized folio, written, after the manner of that age, in continuous lines resembling prose) would require a much greater portion of leisure, and a more familiar acquaintance with the language in which they are written, than I am conscious of possessing. An abstract, however, of those sections of the MS. which upon inspection appeared the most interesting, may perhaps be regarded as supplying in part the defects of Wanley's account, and as affording some evidence that the further and more careful examination of the original would not ill repay the labors of the poetical or philological antiquary.

The specimen which has been selected as the subject of the pre-

sent communication commences on the sixteenth and terminates on the nineteenth leaf of the volume. It consists of about 350 lines, and has been erroneously described by Wanley as two separate poems, "De Mundi Creatione," and "De Christi Incarnatione." It is evidently one hymn, and the subjects of which it treats will be best seen by the following analysis. The metre is the same which is generally used by the reputed Cædmon, and the stile bears a considerable resemblance to that of the same author.

I have ventured to add to the present specimen, besides a literal translation into Latin prose, in which I have endeavoured to preserve with the most scrupulous fidelity both the sense and verbal construction of the original, a paraphrase somewhat more liberal in English verse. I have always considered this double version as the readiest means of enabling those who are unacquainted with the language of the originals, to form at the same time a tolerably correct notion of their characteristic structure of sentence, and a fair estimate of their merits as poetical compositions. I can only regret my inability to execute the latter task in a manner more worthy the spirit of my author, and the acceptance of the Society.

I have given in Italics those letters which appear to constitute the alliterative harmony of the verse,* and divided, according to the best of my judgment, the continuous lines of the manuscript into the metrical form in which they have been usually arranged by Saxon antiquaries.

Should the Society deem the present communication in the smallest degree worthy of their acceptance, I shall have much satisfaction in transmitting, at some future period, such farther notices as are in my possession, with respect to the contents of this remarkable MS. and remain,

With the highest esteem, dear Sir,

Yours, &c. &c.

J. J. CONYBEARE.

HENRY ELLIS, Esq. &c. &c.

* It would be more desirable to distinguish these letters by accentual marks, but this would I believe be impracticable, unless types were cast for the express purpose

ABSTRACT OF THE POEM,

Commencing p. 16 of the Exeter MS.

Thæt is thær wýrthe
 Thæt the weptheode
 Secgan ðrýthne thone
 Duȝutha ȝehpýlcne
 The us riht 7 ær
 Simle ȝeƿemeðe.
 Thuph monig fealdra
 Mæġna ȝeƿýno
 He us æt ȝieƿeð
 And æhta-ȝeð,
 Welan ofeƿr wið lond,
 And weðeƿ liðe.
 Under ȝweȝleȝ hleo,
 Sunne 7 Mona,
 Aethelap̃t tungla,
 Eallum ȝcinath,
 Heofon candelles,
 Hælethum on eopthan.
 Dneopreth deap,
 And þen duȝuthe,
 Weccath to feopn nepe.
 Fīra cýnne,
 Jecath eopth pelan.

Hoc est operæ pretium
 Ut humanum genus
 Dicat Domino gratias
 (Ob) beneficia singula
 Quæ nobis nunc et olim
 Sæpe intulit.
 Per multiplicem
 Potestatem habitationes
 Ille nobis addidit,
 Et possessionum gazas,
 Divitias super latam terram,
 Et tempestatem mitem.
 Sub cœli umbraculo
 Sol et Luna,
 Nobilissima sidera,
 Omnibus nitent,
 Cœli lampades,
 Viris in terra.
 Cadit Ros,
 Et pluvia bona
 Excitatur longe lateque
 Humano generi,
 Auget terræ divitias.

Befits it well that man should raise
 To Heav'n the song of thanks and praise,
 For all the gifts a bounteous God
 From age to age hath still bestow'd.
 The kindly seasons temper'd reign,
 The plenteous store, the rich domain
 Of this mid-earth's extended plain,
 All that his creatures wants could crave,
 His boundless pow'r and mercy gave.
 Noblest of yon bright train that sparkle high,
 Beneath the vaulted sky,

The Sun by day, the silver'd Moon by night,
Twin fires of heav'n, dispense *for man* their useful light.
Where'er on earth his lot be sped,
For Man the clouds their richness shed,
In gentler dews descend, or op'ning pour
Wide o'er the land their fertilizing shower.

From these subjects of praise and gratitude, the poet rises to the sublimer topic of our redemption. The turn of the following passage in this part of the hymn is by no means devoid of spirit. "The Saviour (says the bard) delivered us from the anger of the Father."

Se ðe ær ſunġen
Thurh yrne hyġe
Ældum to ſorġe
" Ic ðec ofer
" Eorðan ġeworhte
" On thære thu ſcealt
" Ymthum lifġan
" Wunian in ġewinne
" And wære ðreogan
" Feondum to hroðer
" Fur leothġalan.
" And to thære ilcan
" Scealt eft ġeƿeorðan
" Wýpmum aƿeallen
" Thonan witer fýr
" Of thære eorðan
" Scealt eft ġerecan"
Hpæt ur ðiſ æthelung
Ythre ġeppemeðe.

Qui olim cecinit
Per iratum animum
Senioribus (hominibus) in dolorem.
" Ego te super
" Terram feci,
" In ea debes
" (In) miseriis vivere,
" Versari in laboribus,
" Et pœnam pati
" (A) diabolis in pectore,
" Promptis hominum inimicis,
" Et in eandem (terram)
" Debes cito reverti
" Vermibus scaturire.
" Tunc pœnæ ignem
" Ex hâc terra (amotus)
" Debes cito quærere."
Quam (maledictionem) nobis ille nobilis
Procul fecit (avertit).

Not such the doom
Our sorrowing fathers heard of old,
The doom that in dread accents told
Of Heaven's avenging might, and woe, and wrath to come.
" Lo I have set thee on earth's stubborn soil

" With grief and stern necessity to strive,
 " To wear thy days in unavailing toil,
 " The ceaseless sport of tort'ring fiends to live.
 " Thence to thy dust to turn, the worm's repast,
 " And dwell where penal flames through endless ages last."

The subject is continued through the greater part of the poem. In one passage the mission of our Saviour is metaphorically described as the flight of a bird.

In thære godcundan
 Gærter ƿrengeþu
 Wær thær fugles flyht,
 Feondum on eorþan
 Dýpne 7 deƿol.

In divini
 Spiritûs potentiâ,
 Erat hujus alitis volatus,
 (Ab) inimicis in terrâ
 Occultus et absconditus.

Wing'd by Heaven's eternal might,
 Swift he sped his eagle flight,
 Borne by the Spirit's checkless force,
 Strong he shap'd his onward course.
 To the foes of God alone
 Dark was the course, the flight unknown.

The conclusion of this poem will perhaps be found to possess sufficient merit to apologize for transcribing it at length. It will doubtless remind the classical reader of the exquisite choral song of Sophocles,^{*} commencing Πολλὰ ἴα δεῖνα; and the fine moral reflection with which it terminates would not have disgraced the composition even of the most philosophic poet of antiquity.

Se thir ƿorlð ƿercoþ,
 Godes gærƿ-junu,
 And ur giefre jealede
 Uppe mid Englum
 Ece ƿæthelar.

Ille hanc terram creavit
 Dei spiritualis filius,
 Et nobis dona obsignavit
 Suprà cum Angelis
 Æternas sedes.

* Sophoclis Antigone.

And eac monigfealde
 Modeſ ƿnýtƿu
 Seop 7 sette
 Leonð seƿan monna.
 Sumum ƿorðlathe
 Wiſe sendeð,
 On hiſ modeſ gemýnð,
 Thuph hiſ muðeſ gæſt,
 Æthele ongiæt.
 Se mæg eal ſela
 Singan 7 secgan
 Tham biðh snýtƿu-cƿæſt
 Biſolen on feſthe
 Sum mæg ſingnum pel
 Hlube ƿoſe hæleðhum,
 Heapƿan ƿtƿigan
 Gleobeam gnetan.
 Sum mæg Godcunde
 Reccan rýhte æ,
 Sum mæg rýne tungla
 Secgan siðe gesceapst.
 Sum mæg leaƿolice
 ƴorð cƿiðe ƿƿutan.
 Sumam ƿiſeſ ƿpeð
 Giepeð æt guthe,
 Thon gaſgetnum
 Opeſ scilð-hƿeadan
 Sceotend sendeð
 Flacop flanzeƿeopc.
 Sum mæg ſƿomlice
 Opeſ sealtne sæ
 Sund ƿuðu Dƿuſan,
 Hƿeƿan holm-ðhƿæce.
 Sum mæg heanne beam
 Stælgne geſtigan.
 Sum mæg ƿtýled ſpeopð
 ƴæƿen geƵýpcan,
 Sum con Ƶonga begong
 ƴeƵaſ wið gielle,

Et etiam multiplicem
 Animi prudentiam
 Insevit et posuit
 In pectoribus hominum.
 Nonnullis orationis vocem
 Sapientem mittit
 In ipsorum animi mentem,
 Per ejus potentiæ spiritum,
 Nobilem intelligentiam.
 Hoc possunt universi
 Canere et prædicare
 Quibus est solertia
 Insita in animo.
 Nonnulli possunt digitis benè
 Sonoram ante nobiles
 Citharam excitare,
 Gaudii tubam inflare.
 Nonnulli possunt divinam
 Pandere justam legem.
 Nonnulli possunt cursum astrorum
 Dicere latè constitutum.
 Nonnulli possunt doctè
 Verbum dictum scribere.
 Quibusdam victoriæ potentiam
 Dedit in bello,
 Ubi exercitus
 Super clypeorum testudines
 Jaculans mittit
 Voluerem sagittæ operam.
 Aliqui possunt fortiter
 Super salsum mare,
 Undam, navem agere,
 (Ut) attingat Oceani vim.
 Aliqui possunt altum telum
 Chalybe prætentum attollere.
 Aliqui possunt ferreum ensem
 Telum fabricare.
 Aliqui possunt ora exercere
 elata voce.

Spa ƿe ƿaldend ƿ
 God-beapn on ƿrindum
 Hir ƿiefe brýttad.
 Nýle he ængum anum
 Ealle ƿerýllan
 Gærter ƿnyttu,
 Thý lær him ƿielp ƿcethe
 Thuph hir aner cƿærƿ
 Oƿer oðre ƿorð.

Utpote Regnator nobis
 Dei filius in terrâ
 Ipsius dona distribuit.
 Noluit ipse aliquos
 Penitus replere
 Spiritus prudentiâ,
 Ne illos arrogantia perdat
 Per propriam artem
 Super alios homines.

Thrice Holy He,
 The Spirit Son of Deity !
 He call'd from nothing into birth
 Each fair production of the teeming earth ;
 He bids the faithful and the just aspire
 To join in endless bliss Heaven's angel choir.
 His love bestows on human kind
 Each varied excellence of mind.
 To some his Spirit-gift affords
 The power and mastery of words :
 So may the wiser sons of earth proclaim,
 In speech and measured song, the glories of his name.
 Some the tuneful hand may ply,
 And loud before the list'ning throng,
 Wake the glad harp to harmony,
 Or bid the trump of joy its swelling note prolong.
 To these he gave Heav'n's righteous laws to scan,
 Or trace the courses of the starry host,
 To these the writer's learned toil to plan,
 To these the battle's pride and victor's boast ;
 Where in the well-fought field the war-troop pour
 Full on the wall of shields the arrow's flickering shower.
 Some can speed the dart afar,
 Some forge the steely blade of war,
 Some o'er Ocean's stormy tide
 The swift-wing'd ship can fearless guide.
 Some in sweet and solemn lays
 The full-ton'd voice of melody can raise.

So Heav'n's high Lord each gift of strength or sense
Vouchsafes to man, impartial to dispense.
And of the pow'r that from his Spirit flows
On each a share, on none the whole bestows.
Lest favor'd thus beyond their mortal state,
Their pride involve them in the sinner's fate.

The remainder of the poem is principally occupied by the further praises of the Redeemer, (in the course of which he is compared to the Sun, and his Church to the Moon,) of exhortations to piety, and denunciations of the final punishment reserved for the impenitent. It terminates with the following lines.

Se uꝛ līƿ ƿoꝛgeaƿ
Leomulic 7 Ʒæƿc.
Sel him loƿ Ʒȳmle
Thuph ƿoƿulð ƿoƿulða
Wulðoƿ on heoƿonum.

Ille nobis vitam dedit
Vitalem et spiritum.
Redde illi amorem sæpe
Per orbem orbium
Gloriam in cœlis.

I remain, with the highest esteem,

Dear Sir, yours, &c.

J. J. CONYBEARE.

P. S. It will be seen that I have not entirely translated the passage

Sum con wonga beƷong
WeƷaƿ ƿið Ʒielle.

Indeed I do not clearly perceive its construction, unless *ponga ƿeƷaƿ* are to be taken together as "the way or passage of the mouth." In a few instances also, where I could not discover any recurrence of similar sounds, I have omitted the alliterative marks. I apprehend

that rhyme was occasionally used and considered as an equivalent to alliteration, as in the lines

And to thep ilcan
Scealt eft ȝepeonþan.

I have rendered "leomulic" by "vitalem," as the word nearest in sense, if we derive it from *leoma*, *a limb*, if its root be *leoma*, *lux*, it may be rendered by *splendidam* (q. d. *cælestem*).

XVI. *Further Extract from the Exeter Manuscript in a second Letter from the Rev. J. J. Conybeare, Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford, to Henry Ellis, Esq. F.R.S. and S.A.*

Read 4th Feb. 1813.

MY DEAR SIR,

THE Anglo-Saxon Poem of which I enclose a Specimen is contained, together with various others, in the Volume preserved in the Library of Exeter Cathedral, an extract from which I had, in November last, the honour of submitting to the Society. Its subject, the Reproach of a Spirit in misery to the body which it formerly inhabited, will doubtless be recognized by those who are conversant with our early Poetry as one upon which the genius of our Minstrels, or rather perhaps of our monastic Versifiers, was not unfrequently exercised. The Exordium of this ancient composition will be found (if I have rightly translated the passage in question, which is somewhat obscure,) to contain a singular instance of popular superstition relative to the time during which the soul was permitted to revisit the Earth after its separation from the body.

I remain,

Dear Sir,

with the greatest esteem,

Yours, &c.

J. J. CONYBEARE.

H. ELLIS, Esq. &c. &c.

The Poem commences thus, on the 98th Folio.

Hupu thær behopath
 Hæletha æghpýlc
 Thæt he hī sapple-rið
 Sylfa-gepitzige,
 Hu thæt bið deophic.
 Thonne je Deað cymeth,
 Asundpæth tha sibbe
 Tha the ær somuð
 Wæron he and sapple.
 Long bið riððan
 Thæt je gæst nimeð
 Æt Gode sylfum
 Spa wite swa wuldor,
 Spa him in worulde ær,
 Æfre thæt eorðfæst,
 Ær gepophæte.
 Sceal je gæst cuman,
 * Gehthum hremig,
 Syle ymb seofon mihc,
 Sapple findan
 Thone heolman,
 The heo ær longe pæg.
 Threo hund sintra,
 Butan ær pýnce
 Ece ðryhten
 Ælmihtig God

Maxime hoc oportet
 Mortalium unumquemque
 Ut ille ejus animæ iter
 Secum meditetur,
 Quam illud sit longinquum (*altum*).
 Quum mors advenit
 Abrumpit copulam
 Quâ olim juncta
 Fuerunt corpus et anima.
 Diu est exinde
 Quod spiritus accipit
 Apud Deum ipsum
 Aut pœnam aut gloriam
 Sicut ipsi in mundo prius,
 Etiam (in) illo vase terrestri,
 Olim factum est.
 Spiritus veniet
 (In) statione querulus,
 ——— circiter (post) septimanam,
 Anima ad inveniendum
 Corpus.
 Quod illa nuper habitabat,
 300 hyemes,
 Nisi prius constituat,
 Æternus Dominus,
 Omnipotens Deus

* The sense of this clause is by no means clear to me. The word "Læthum" which occurs once in Cædmon (p. 74. l. 4.) is supposed by Lye to be derived from "Læ-hyht," Refugium. Læht or Lye however, appears in the compounds Lebeð-Læht, Bed-time—Sanglæht, the Solstice—Lye-fal, an Apartment. Its signification in these compounds and in the passage of Cædmon above mentioned seems to be Tempus, Mansio, or Statio. If læthum be taken in the latter of these senses it may be understood as construed in the Latin Version; if in the former, it may signify 'aliquando.' Should the word læht, or læht be allowed to have signified 'time' (as it must if Lebeð-læht be correctly translated Conticinium, vid. Lye in voce) it will afford us a more plausible Etymology of the Adverb Yet, than the one proposed by Mr. Horne Tooke. The derivative adverbs gætes (existing in *algates*), and læthum, will then appear to be formed from the oblique cases by the same analogy as 'whiles' and 'whilom' from 'Hwil' Tempus. The old Teutonic Zit Tempus (vid. Schilter's Glossary in voce) may be derived from the same source. The following word hremig I have ventured to render, querulus, or stridulus, (from Hrem, Vocifera) rather than *compos* as Lye has given it. The only meaning I can discover for syle is basis, fundamentum, sylle. I suspect it in this place to be a mistake of the transcriber for 'syle' or 'syle'.

Ende populde
 Cleopað ðhonne ꝥpa ceapful,
 Calðan neopde
 Sppiceð gpmlice
 Gæꝥ to ðham ðurte.
 “Druzu ðhu ðneopga,
 “To hpon ðneahteꝥ ðhu me?
 “Eopðhan fýlner
 “Eal foppeopnaꝥ,
 “Lameꝥ zelicneꝥ.
 “Lýt ðhu zethohteꝥ to pon
 “Thinne ꝥaple ꝥið
 “Siddan pupde,
 “Siddan heo of lichoman
 “Lædeð pæpe.
 “Hpæt ꝥize ðhu me penza *
 “Hpæt ðhu hupu
 “Wýpma zýꝥl
 “Lýt zethohteꝥ
 “Hu ðhiꝥ iꝥ long hider.

Finem orbis
 Clamat tunc adeo misera
 Frigidâ lingua
 Alloquitur horrens
 Anima pulverem.
 “Pulvis tu infelix
 “Quo agis me?
 “Terrenâ putredine
 “Omnino marcescis
 “Limi similitudine
 “Parum præcepisti expectatione
 “Tuum spiritûs-iter
 “Quò futurum esset
 “Quum ille (*spiritus*) e corpore
 “Eductus foret.
 “Ut punies me Inique!
 “Quàm tu verè
 “Vermium esca
 “Parùm cogitasti,
 “Quàm sit longum bùc.

Befits it well that man should deeply weigh
 His soul's last journey; how he then may fare
 When Death comes on him, and breaks short in twain
 The bond that held his flesh and spirit link'd;
 Long is it thence ere at the hand of Heav'n
 The Spirit shall reap or joy or punishment,
 E'en as she did in this her earthly frame.
 For ere the seventh night of Death hath past,
 Ghastly and shrieking shall that Spirit come,
 The Soul to find its body,—restless thus,
 (Unless high Heav'n first work the end of all things)
 An hundred years thrice told the shade shall roam.
 With chilling voice that sad and mournful ghost
 Upbraids its kindred earth. “Thou hapless dust,
 “How fares it with thee now! how dost thou waste

* I am by no means satisfied with the construction of this line, or the clause following it.

"A foul and earthy mass! full little erst
 "Thy thoughts were of that journey which the Soul,
 "Driv'n from her fleshly tenement, is doom'd to!
 "To what sad fate, oh wretched food of worms!
 "Hast thou reduced me,—little thoughtest thou
 "How long and dreary was my destin'd way."

THIS Extract constitutes about one sixth part of the Poem. The remainder is occupied by a tissue of similar reproaches, and appears, upon the whole, to exhibit but little of imagination, and none of those traces of popular opinions or customs which occasionally stamp an additional value on the remains of our ancient Versifiers.

It terminates thus, at the 100th Leaf of the MS.

Thæt mæg æghwylcum

Men to gemýrdum

Mod ynotteppa.

Id debent (*possunt*) omnino

Homines in mentem (*revocare*)

Animi prudentes.

XVII. *Account of an Anglo-Saxon Paraphrase of the Phoenix attributed to Lactantius, contained in the Exeter Manuscript, in a third Letter from the Rev. J. J. Conybeare, M. A. to Henry Ellis, Esq. F.R.S. and S.A.*

Read 4th Feb. 1813.

Christ Church, Oxford.

MY DEAR SIR,

ONE of the Anglo-Saxon poems contained in the Exeter MS. is remarkable as being a translation or rather Paraphrase of a Latin Original still in existence; the "Phoenix" (attributed by some to Lactantius, and printed at the end of the Variorum Edition of Claudian) commencing

Est locus in primo felix Oriente remotus,

Its Anglo-Saxon imitator has converted the classical tale of the Eastern Bird into an allegory of the Resurrection. Many other fables of the Heathen Mythology were similarly applied and interpreted in a religious sense by the Authors of the middle ages. Of this the celebrated *Gesta Romanorum* afford more than one example. And we find in the Catalogue of the books formerly bestowed by Humphrey Duke of Gloucester upon the Library which he founded in this University, the whole of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* thus "*moralised*," as the writers of those days expressed it.

This taste for allegorizing the beautiful fictions of classical poetry was perhaps first introduced by the later Fathers of the Christian Church. The one now under consideration as it is among the most obvious, so it was probably among the earliest applications of this nature. Doceat (says St. Ambrose as quoted in the *Speculum Naturale* of Vincent of Beauvais) nos hæc avis exemplo resurrectionem credere, quæ sine exemplo et sine rationis præceptione sibi insignia resurrec-

tionis instaurat. The Saxon Paraphrast has far exceeded his original in prolixity, a fault perhaps almost inseparable from the poetical System adopted by our Ancestors. Its invariable characteristic was (as Mr. Sharon Turner has accurately and elegantly stated in his essay on this subject) the accumulation of parallel ideas expressed in language more or less diversified according to the abilities of the writer, and of this the present extract will furnish an additional example. It is taken from the commencement of the Poem, and exhibits a description of the Island which the Phœnix was supposed to inhabit. The Paraphrast has by no means scrupulously followed the succession of ideas of his original.

Hæbbe ic ȝefjuȝnen
 Thæt is feor heonan
 Eart-dælum on
 Æthelart londa
 Fīrum ȝefjæge.
 Nis se folðan-ſceat
 Ofeor middangeard
 Monzum ȝefære
 Folc aȝendra ;
 Ac he afyrped is
 Thurh meotudes meahc
 Man fremendum.
 Whilic is se wonig
 Eall wynnum ȝeblīrað ;
 In notham ſæ-ȝneortum
 Folðan ſcencum
 Ænlic is thæt iȝlonð.
 Æthele se pȝrhta,
 Modig meahcūm ſpedig,
 Se tha moldan ȝeſette :
 Thær bih oſ open
 Eadgum toȝeanes
 Onhliden hleoþra
 Wȝn Heoron ſiceſ.
 Duſu thæt is pȝnrum ponig,

Ego audiui
 Quod est procul hinc
 In oriente quædam
 Nobilissima regio
 Viris cognita (vel celebrata).
 Non est ea terræ plaga
 Per medium orbem
 Multis frequentata
 Populi (terram) possidentis ;
 Sed illa remota est
 Per Creatoris potentiam
 Ab iniquè facientibus.
 Splendida est ea regio
 Omnibus deliciis beata ;
 In rubro oceani sinu
 Terræ odoribus
 Sola est ea Insula.
 Nobilis (fuit) opifex,
 Intellectuali potentia alacris,
 Qui eam regionem statuit :
 Illic est sæpe reclusum
 Sanctis obviam
 Revelatum clare
 Gaudium cœlestis regni.
 Verè ea est læta regio,

Wealdar ȝene
 Scane under ƿodeƿum.
 Ne mæg thær ƿen, ne ƿnap,
 * Ne ƿorƿter ƿræƿt,
 Ne ƿýner blæƿt,
 Ne hæȝler hƿýne,
 Ne hƿuner Drýne,
 Ne sunnan hætu,
 Ne sin caldu,
 Ne ƿarm ƿeder,
 Ne ƿinter ƿcun.
 Ac ƿe ƿong ƿeomað
 Eaðiȝ on ƿund
 Bloƿtum ȝebloƿen.
 Beorȝar thær ne munȝar
 Stæpe ne ƿtonðath,
 Ne ƿtan-clifu
 Heah hhræð,
 Spa her mið uȝ,
 Ne dene, ne dalu,

Sylvis virescens,
 Pulchra sub cælo,
 Neque potest (*dominari*) illic pluvia aut [nix,
 Neque hyemis gelu,
 Neque ignis afflatus,
 Neque grandinis impetus,
 Neque pruinae rigor,
 Neque solis ardor,
 Neque noxium frigus,
 Neque torrida tempestas,
 Neque hyemis imber.
 Sed Regio permanet,
 Beata in Oceano
 Flosculis germinans.
 (*Nec*) colles nec montes
 Præcipites stant,
 Neque saxorum clivi
 Ardui assurgunt.
 (*Sicuti hic apud nos*)
 Neque vallis, neque convallis,

* It will immediately be perceived that in this passage the Author has, besides the usual alliteration which is still carefully observed, adopted the additional ornament of rhyme, a circumstance of by no means common occurrence in A. S. Poetry. Mr. Turner has adduced a few examples of it, but I know of no source which would afford so many, or of such length, as the Exeter MS. The following occurs in the Poema de Die Iudicii (mentioned by Wanley as part of its contents, beginning "We nuð thȝr hec.")

Thæt nu Manna ȝehƿyle
 Cƿic thenben her ƿanath
 Leceorjan moð.
 Spa helle hieƿthu,
 Spa heoroner mæƿthu,
 Spa leohƿe leohƿe,
 Spa tham lathan niht,
 Spa thƿýmmer thƿæce,
 Spa thƿýrƿa ƿƿæce,
 Spa mið Drihten dƿeam,
 Spa mið deoƿlum hƿæm,
 Spa wite mið ƿƿathum,
 Spa wuldor mið aƿum,
 Spa life, ƿƿa death,
 Spa him leoƿe biðh.

Uti nunc hominum quicumque
 Vivus hic habitat
 Eligere possit
 Vel Gehennæ ignem,
 Vel cæli gaudium,
 Vel splendidam lucem,
 Vel horridam noctem,
 Vel gloriæ majestatem,
 Vel tenebrarum ultionem,
 Vel cum Domino gaudium,
 Vel cum Diabolis lamentationem,
 Vel pœnam cum irâ,
 Vel gloriam cum honore,
 Vel vitam, vel mortem,
 Utpote ipsi libitum fuerit.

The latter part of the Volume contains one Poem entirely written in rhyme, with the alliteration also preserved throughout. Instances of the same kind occur in the Icelandic Poetry.

Ne *dun-ƿeƿaru*,
Hlæƿar, ne *hlincar*,
 Ne *thæp hleonad*
Oo unƿmetheƿ ƿiht.
Ac ƿe æthele ƿoþ
Wƿiðað under *ƿolenam*
Wýnnum *gebloƿea*.

Neque montium spelunca,
 (*Neque*) *tumuli*, *nec aggeres*,
Neque illi inest (incumbit)
Ulla aspera res.
Sed nobilis regio
Germinat sub cœlo.
Gaudiis scaturiens.

Of I have heard that eastward, far from hence,
 The noblest land that song may tell of lies.
 Not by the countless host of men that hold
 This middle earth, that country may be known.
 Heav'n hath remov'd it from the sinner's eye.
 Fair is that land, with ev'ry pleasure blest;
 In the sea's bosom, rich of od'rous sweets,
 The lonely islet stands. Divine was he,
 And wondrous in his sov'reign intellect,
 Th' artificer that gave that land its place.
 There to his righteous servants stand unveil'd
 In clearest light the joys of Heav'n's domain.

Beauteous in sooth that land beneath the sky
 Spreads its green woodlands—there nor rain, nor snow,
 Nor the frosts fetters, nor the blast of fire,
 Nor hail swift falling, nor the hoary rime,
 Nor the sun's parching heat, nor winter's cold,
 May ought intrude; but firm amid the wave,
 Still clad in verdure, stands that blessed realm.
 Nor hill nor mountain there, nor stony cliff,
 (Such steeps as those our earthly mansion bears)
 High tow'ring rise; nor upland's long ascent,
 Nor dell, nor vale is there, nor rocky cave.
 Mars not that blessed isle unseemly ought,
 But full of joys it flow'reth under heav'n.

The whole poem occupies ten leaves, and is divided into sections; the first of these (the only one which my time permitted me to transcribe) contains about one hundred and seventy verses, and ends thus,

Thær je halga ꝛene
Wunath geond wýn lond
Thæt onwended ne bið
Æfre to ealðre
Æn ðon endige
Eroð fým gepeoƿe
Se hƿ fýmthe geƿcop.

Illic sanctus odor
Pervadit gaudii terram,
Quæ accessa non est
Unquam hominibus
Priusquam finiat (Phoenix)
Provectior ætate opus
Quæ prima fabricavit.

Exclusively of its general value as a specimen of the poetical language of our forefathers, and the curious circumstance of its having been drawn from a source which, though not of the purest age, must yet be considered as classical,^b this long composition probably contains but little that would be interesting to the antiquary.^c This, however, the very slight inspection which I was enabled to give the remaining sections certainly does not authorize me to affirm from my own knowledge.

Believe me, with the highest esteem,

Dear Sir, yours, &c.

J. J. CONYBEARE.

^b This was seldom directly the case with the poetry of the middle ages. The Boethius of Alfred is a splendid exception; and a singular one of later date (about 1200) occurs in the Digby MS. noticed by Warton (MS. Digb. 86). It is entitled "Le Regret de Maximien," and appears to be an English translation from a French paraphrase (for it is too loose and inaccurate to be called strictly a version) of an Elegy by Maximianus, falsely attributed by its earlier editors to Cornelius Gallus.

^c It might perhaps be added that the concluding lines of the Poem are written alternately in Saxon and Latin (as may be seen by reference to Wanley's Catalogue). This may serve in part to determine the nature of the metrical system adopted by our ancestors, a subject which, I trust, it will be in my power to illustrate in some future communication.

XVIII. *An Account of the Register of Persons who sought Sanctuary at S John of Beverley in Yorkshire, preserved among the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum; in a Letter from Henry Ellis, Esq. F.R.S. and S. A. to Nicholas Carlisle, Esq. Secretary.*

Read 21st January, 1813.

DEAR SIR,

British Museum, Dec. 12, 1812.

AMONG the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum is a thin folio volume written upon vellum, marked N° 4292, and containing the Register of Persons who sought Sanctuary for different crimes at St. John of Beverley in Yorkshire, in the reigns of King Edward the Fourth, King Henry the Seventh, and King Henry the Eighth. The book-binder by whom it appears to have been rebound of later years, seems to have mixed some of the leaves, or, at least, to have put the entries of King Edward the Fourth's time after some of those of King Henry the Seventh's.

The greater part of the manuscript is of course confined to a list of names and crimes: but on the reverse of folio 17 is a copy of the oath taken by those who sought the peace of the place. I do not remember to have met with a sanctuary-oath elsewhere. The bailiff of the town, by whom the oath was administered, is directed to enquire of the refugee "what man he killed, and wher with, and both "ther names: and than gar hym lay his hand vppon the book, sayng "on this wyse,

'Sir tak hede on your oth. Ye shalbe trew and feythful to my lord Archbishop of York, lord off this towne, to the provest of thesame, to the chanons of this chirch, and all othir minstr's therof.

'Also ye shall bere gude hert to the baillie and xii governars of this town, to all burges' and comyners of thesame.

‘ Also ye shall bere no poynted wapen, dagger, knyfe, ne none other wapen ayenst the kyngs pece.

‘ Also ye shalbe redy at all your power if ther be any debate or stryf or oð sothan case of fyre within the town to help to s’cess it.

‘ Also ye shalbe redy at the obite of Kyng Adelstan, at the Dirige and the Messe at such tyme as it is done at the warnyng of the bel-man of the town, and do your dewte in ryngyng, and for to offer at the messe on the morne, so help you god and thies holy Evangelists.’

“ And then gar hym kysse the Book.”

The Bailiff’s fee on this occasion appears to have been two and four-pence: that of the Clerk of the Court, for inscribing the name of the party seeking refuge in the Sanctuary Register, four-pence.

The earliest entry is of the eighteenth year of King Edward the Fourth,^a when William and John Salvan, Esquires, John Heghfeld, gentleman, George Walker, and John Hunt, were received, after the murder of Henry Hardewyk, April 13th.

Another entry occurs in the same year, on the twenty-third of May, when refuge was sought by John Boys of Doram, after the murder of one Baxter, a monk of the Cistercian Abbey of Jorevaulx in Yorkshire.^b

The greater part of the early entries are made in Latin: a few, however, occur in English; as,

“ M^d. that Jhon Sprot of Barton open Umber in the counte of

^a “ Willm’s Salvan, Armiger.

Johannes Heghfeld, generos.

Johannes Salvan, armig.

Georgius Walker.

Johannes Hunt.

} Omnes isti fuer’ recept’ xiiij die Aprilis pro morte Henrici Hardewyk per ipsos interfect’.”

^b Jokes Boys de Doram, ats DDorham, xxiiij.^o die Maij Anno r.r. Edwardi quarti post conquestum Anglie xviii.^o venit hic ad pacem sancti Johis Beverlaci pro morte dompni . . . Baxter monachi ordinis Cisterciensis de Gervaxem com. Ebor. per ipm Johem Boys interfecti apud Doram predict’ infra Episcopat Dunelmie xij.^{mo} die Aprilis anno r.r. supradicto. Et accept’ ab ipo Johanne Boys sacramento secundum consuetudinem, &c. idem Jokes admissus est et receptus mansurus et moraturus infra libertatem, &c.”

Lyngcoln jentilman com to Beverlay the ferst day of October the vij. yer of the raen of Keng Herre the vij. and asked the lybertes of sant Jhon of Beuerlay for the dethe of Jhon Welton husbandman of the sam toon, and knowleg hym selff to be at the kyillyng of the saym Jhon w^t a dager the xv. day of August."

The description of the party, whether as a gentleman, a tradesman, or a yeoman, is regularly entred; with the place of residence, and the place and mode in which the crime protected was committed by the person seeking refuge.

From a manuscript note in a copy of Bishop Nicolson's Historical Libraries, at Oxford, I learn that the *Register of the SANCTUARY at WESTMINSTER* was purchased by Humphrey Wanley, at the auction of Sir Henry Spelman's manuscripts, for Lord Weymouth, in whose library at Long-Leate it was placed, and where it may probably be still found.

I am, dear Sir, with great respect,

Your obedient and faithful servant,

HENRY ELLIS.

NICHOLAS CARLISLE, Esq. &c. &c.

XIX. *A Memoir on the State of Norham Castle in the time of Henry the Eighth, communicated from a Cottonian Manuscript in the British Museum, by Henry Ellis, Esq. F.R.S. and S.A. in a Letter to Nicholas Carlisle, Esq. Secretary.*

Read 18th February, 1813.

DEAR SIR,

British Museum, Feb. 9, 1813.

IN a volume of Miscellaneous Papers among the Cotton Manuscripts in the British Museum, is a short but curious Memoir on the state of Norham Castle in the time of Henry the Eighth.^a

A very short extract from that part which relates to provisions for the garrison was copied by Mr. Pinkerton in his History of Scotland: but I think the whole Memoir affords an important detail, not only of the œconomy, but of the general expense attending the keeping up of an ancient fortress.

I enclose a transcript of it, which you will have the goodness to lay before the Society.

I am, dear Sir,

Sincerely yours,

HENRY ELLIS.

NICHOLAS CARLISLE, Esq. &c. &c.

^a MS. Cott. Calig. B. VI. 216.

“The Ansuer of Thomas Lord Dacre and Phillip Dacre his Brodre, Deputies to William Dacre Lord Graistok, Capitain of my Lords Castell of Norham, to a Bill of Instruccions brought by Robert Athe from Mr. Wiliam Frankleyn, Chancellor of Duresme, the vth daye of Febr. the xijth yere of the Pontificacion of my said Lord.

In the first article, my said Lord by his writing and his Chancellor of his awn hand, bering date at Duresme place besides Westm. upon Saint Swithyn day, is desirous to knowe in what suyrtie his Castell of Norham stands in, and how it shalbe ordred hereaftre. In the second Article, to knowe how the said Castell is furnysshed w^t vitail, men, and othr necessaryes for suyrtie of the same. In the third Article, that a Book might be drawn how the said Castell is, and shalbe ordred, for ther is so evill reaports maid oppenly to his lordship that he can not be quiet unto such time as he knowe the certainte therof. In the iiijth Article, that my said Lord or this tym has spoken w^t the Lord Roos and William Heron for Warraunts for Tymbr. In the vth Article, finally to be asseraigned how eu’y thing is and shalbe ordred for the sauegard and custodie of the said Castell, to thintent that my Lord may be adu’tised of the same.

As vnto thes Articles affor written, as unto the estate of the Castell, the said Lord Dacre saith, that is to say, not vnknown to my said Lord, how it is past and covenanted by Indenture how many solders, how many warkmen, and othis shuld be kept in the said Castell in the tyme of peas, whiche is kepit in nombre according to the tenor of the same Indenturs. And also it is further covenanted that in the tyme of warr the said Wark shall cease, and the Fees and Wagies of the same to be imployed for the sure Custodie of the said Castell. And now it is more likly to be Warr then Peas. And if the Wark shuld cesse the Vltre ward is so feble that it can not be kepit, be reason that the fowr Tours founded for Bulwarks is of that lawnes that it is not able to abide a sege, and the mantill waull of siche

febilnes, without it be countermoved, whiche can not be done if the Wark shuld cesse.

And as vnto the Inner ward it is so fynnyshed, and of that strienth, that w^t the help of God, and the prayer of Saint Cuthb̄rt, it is vnpringnable.

The lang waull betuix the Inner Ward and the nether yate next the watre, is fynnysshed redie to the batalling, and so it mistres no more for a necessite, for it is of hight xiiij yerds and more, and besids the advantage of the bank of Clen waull in sight.

There is Achlers redie hewen, and oth̄r filling stuff redie gotten in the Quarrel, that nighhand will fynyshe the said four towrs being bulwarks, or at the best will fynyshe thre of them.

Ther is also one stable maid substanciall of stone and tymbr̄ in five seu'ral rowmes that will serve lx. horse. Also ther is a bire made for oxen, whiche, in the tyme of necessite, the oxen being away will serve l. horse. Also ther is undre the Chapell a rowm whiche was made affor myn entre, which I have orissed with Hek and Mangeor for xx horse. And so ther is good Stabilling redie at this owr for vj^{xx} horse, besids logies whiche is made for servaunts of none effect.

And as unto the vitailing of the said Castell ther is of salt beves in salt barrels, in thre grete fats, xliij. Oxen and Kye, besids the common beif dayly spendit and occupied. Also in fissue ij hogisheds of salt salmon, C. salt fissue, besids the store of the House. Also ther is, whiche shal alwey be redie unto grisse Beif com, vj. fed Oxen and CCCCth. shepe lieng undre the Castell waull nightly, as well for suyrtie of the same as for a necessitie.

Also ther is in Corn, in the garners and within the Castell in staks, by estimacion, in whete and rye, fourty quarters; in Malt whiche is now in making at the Castell yate, fowr score quarters; whiche Cornes is to be kepit for peril and jepiordie of segeing, besids the garners dayly to be occupied.

And in this case as is affor declared stands the said Castell, like as Robert Athe has sene every particr of the same, which I trust will make reaport accordingly. And if it be warr, my Lord's pleasur must

be knowen, whedre his Lordship will have the Wark to go forward or to cesse; for if it continue and go forward, my said Lord must be chargied with the Wagies of the same out of his Coffres, during the tyme of warr, for, according to the Covenants of Indenturs, the wagies and fees of the Warkmen must go and find able men whiche, with those that is covenanted to be and remane in tyme of peas, shall make the full nombr of lix. for the which I have provided of harnes, to be above their Jaks, of myn awn charge, for the Deputie of a complete Curase, and for every of the other an Almane Belett, a Beuer, and a Sallett, besides the Comite, my Lords Tenaunts, whiche must com in as they ar appoynted, having mete and driuk w^t a reward, according to ther service, that is to say,

The Capitain or his sufficient deputie having w^t his awn person of his awn charge xiiij. persons, that is to say, hym self, his servaunt, a Chaplain, two Cooks, a Brewer, besides Childre, a Butler, thre hynes, being personable men, iij servaunts of the said hynes, a Carter, and has but to his wage xx^{ti}: and the Constabl and a servaunt with hym, whiche commyth never here to look at his charge, x^{ti}: vj Soldees ichon at C^s, xxx^{ti}: ij porters viij^{ti}: iij wattishmen xvj^{ti}: all thes ar kept and remanes at this day, except the Constable, whiche never regardeth his charge.

Also ther shalbe kept, upon the Wagies of the vj waullers, vj gonners, whiche must have takin out of the thre masons wagies lx^s, and so every gonner shall have vj^{ti}. x^s. by yere, and the reversion of the thre masons wagies whiche is xv^{ti}. shall kepe iij solders. Also ther shalbe kept upon the C^{ti}, whiche in the tyme of peas shuld be spendit of lyme lawborers, wrights, and other artificers, xx^{ti} able men, ichone after C^s a pece by yere. And so the hole nombr of lix, besides Childre, shalbe kept according to my Covenants w^t the left husbandrie that I can make.

And, if it pleas my Lord that the wark be kept, whiche semes to me must be of verey necessite, for my Lords honor and suyrtye of his Castell, and also for the Kings pleasure, and sklandre of yll Tongs seeing the losse of the said Castell befor his Lordship shalbe chargied

with no more out of his Coffers but only with the som of Clvj^{li}. that is to say for the masons, wallers, and quarriōs lvj^{li}. for lyme lawborers and othr artificers C^{li}.

And asfor Ordinance, it is knowen by Indenture, wherof one part remaynyth w^t maister Chancellor, what remaynth in the said Castell; first, of grete peces, a Saker, two Faucons, a Fawcon of maister Chancellars, viij small Serpentyngs going upon iij pare of wheles of metall; a grete Slaing of Irn, and iij Serpentyngs, wherof one has no chambers. Asfor Haggbusshes ther is metely enowe. And so we have never one pece nor a serpentyne for the fowr bullwarks w^t the two yatehouses in the vltre ward. Asfor gonpowder ther is metly of it to be doing w^{all}. And ther must be certain Brimstone and sauf peter be provided for to th'intent that a gonner may sharp it, for I fere me that ther is overmiche cole in it, wherby it is something flatt, as I perceive it upon my hand when I burn it.

And asfor Arrowes ther is certain of them, howbeit bereason of evill keping they want fedres, wherby many of them will do no good unto suche tyme as a fletcher have them throwghe hand: and as for Bowes ther is none but only xl^{li} whiche is of none effect, x of them not able. And therfor ther must be provided for Cth or CCth of good Bowes, for common-Store-Bowes are of none effect. And in this case stands my Lords Castell, w^t myn opynyōn in every thing; referring the coreccion therof, adding or mynysshing, to my Lord, and in his absence to Maister Chancellor. What informacion soever be made the troughe shalbe knowen at lienth, and the Service whiche I doe to my Lord is not for prouffit but only for his pleasure, seeing that he is so good Lord to me as he is. And also it may appere, seeing that my son has but xx^{li} by yere, for the whiche he findith xiiij persons, and also his kyn and frendes stand bound by obligacion in the som of two thousand pounds for the sure keping of my Lords Castell, and the Constable having xli for hym self and his servaunt, never loking at his charge, for the whiche (has his patent made sens the making of myn Indenturs for terme of his Life) howbeit it is cove-naunted in the same Indenturs that ther shuld be no Constable, but

such as I shuld be content with. Notwithstanding yf he will do his duytie I shalbe content with hym aswele as with ane oder. At my said Lordes Castell of Norhām the vijth daye of Febr. the yere of God a M.VC and xxj^{ti} and the xiiijth yere of the Pontificacion of the said lord Thomas by the grace of God busshop of Duresme, and lord of the Shires of Norhām and Eland.

THOMAS DACRE."

XX. *A Memoir on the Office of Cuneator, by the Rev. Rogers Ruding, B.D. F.S.A. addressed to Nicholas Carlisle, Esq. Secretary.*

Read 4th March, 1813.

MY DEAR SIR,

Maldon, Feb. 22, 1813.

I HAVE herewith sent a brief Memoir on the Office of Cuneator, in the hope that, if you should think it worthy to be laid before the Society, some of our Members, whose researches may have been more successful than mine, will, by their communication, enable me to form a more decided opinion upon the nature of that office.

I remain, dear Sir,

Yours very faithfully,

ROGERS RUDING.

NICHOLAS CARLISLE, Esq. &c. &c.

OF THE CUNEATOR.

AN Officer of great importance in the Anglo-Norman Mints bore the title of Cuneator, whose office was hereditary, and, as far as I have discovered, the only one in the Mint that was so. The engravers of the dies seem to have been appointed by him, and to have been under his immediate cognizance. By him they were presented to the Barons of the Exchequer,^a before whom they took the usual oath of office; and it was probably his duty to see that all the dies, as well those which were used in the paramount Mint in the Tower of Lon-

^a Madox Hist. Excheq. Vol. II. pp. 88, 89.

don, as those which were issued from thence to the subordinate Mints, were of the same type.^b This was a circumstance of great moment whilst so many mints were allowed to be worked in various parts of the kingdom; but when they were abolished, and the Mint in the Tower became the only source from whence the coins were derived, this precaution was no longer necessary, and the office soon sank into disuse.

I have not been able to trace it to its origin, but conceive that it is of high antiquity, as the necessity for its establishment must have been nearly coeval with the earliest appointment of any branches of the royal Mint to be fixed at a distance from it.

In Domesday Book the name of Otto, a goldsmith, occurs as holding lands in Essex and Suffolk.^c

It is probable that he was the father of Otto the younger, to whom Henry I. in the early part of his reign, restored the mystery of the dies, which his father had held, together with all other his offices, and certain lands, &c.^d

These he afterwards confirmed to William Fitz Otto, goldsmith, together with other lands which his father had possessed, on condition that he should perform the duties of the office which Otho the goldsmith had executed.^e

In the 6th of John, William Fitz Otho was commanded by writ to make the dies for the royal and episcopal Mints at Chichester:^f and

^b He claimed the old and broken dies as his fee; which claim was allowed to Thomas Fitz Oto, in the 49th year of Henry III. on his petition to the King in the court of Exchequer, that they belonged to him of right and inheritance, and that his ancestors had been accustomed to have them. This, upon examination, was found to be true. Madox, Hist. Excheq. Vol. II. p. 11.

^c Vol. II. folio 3 b; 97 b; 106 b; in Essex: and 286 b, in Suffolk.

^d Cart. Antiq. in Tur. Lond. Y. N^o 17, directed to Maurice Bishop of London, who was consecrated in 1085, and died in 1197, the 7th year of Henry I. It was probably on account of some dispute respecting his office, that, in the 18th year of the same King, William Fitz Otho paid into the Exchequer xxxvj l. and x d. that he might no longer have a master over him. Mag. Rot. vulgo 5 Step. Rot. 15. a. Londonia. Madox Hist. Excheq. Vol. I. p. 476.

^e Cart. Antiq. Y. N^o 20. directed to Richard Bishop of London, who was consecrated in 1108, and died in 1127, the 27th of Henry I.

^f Cl. 6. Joh. m. 1.

in the 27th year of Henry III. he presented before the Barons of the Exchequer, Richard Abel, goldsmith, to be maker and cutter of the money dies.^g

Towards the latter end of that reign, some doubts appear to have arisen respecting the nature of the tenure by which this office was held; for, in his 41st year, the King commanded the Barons of the Exchequer that, after examining the rolls of that court, they should without delay inform him what kind of serjeanty Otto Fitz William, then dead, held on account of the custody of the King's Die in England; whether in fee, or ex gratia, or for the term of his life, and by what service; who was his heir, and of what age; and whether the said Otto held of the King any land not belonging to that serjeanty, and how much, and where, and by what service, &c.^h

I have not discovered the return to this writ; but it will be seen, a little lower down, that he held by petit-serjeanty.

In the 49th of Henry III. Thomas Fitz Otho claimed, in the court of Exchequer, the broken Dies, as belonging to him of inheritance, and had his claim allowed;ⁱ and in the 52d year, he presented before the Barons, Ralph le Blund, to the office of Cutter of the King's Dies.^k

When Edward I. in his 8th year, appointed William de Turnemire to make his coins, for that present time, the King took upon himself the payment of the fee which Hugh Fitz Otho, guardian of Otho his nephew, claimed for keeping the dies; or otherwise to satisfy him for the same.^l

In the 22d of Edward I. it was found that Otho Fitz William held, of King Henry III. the manor of Lilleston, in the county of Middlesex, in capite, by the serjeanty of keeping the King's money stamp; but that the Master of the Knights Templars then held that manor.^m

It is certain, however, that the serjeanty still continued in Otho's family (although the manor, held in virtue of it, was by some means

^g Madox. Vol. II. p. 88.

^h Madox Baronia, p. 249.

ⁱ Madox Hist. Excheq. Vol. II. p. 11.

^k Id. p. 89.

^l Lib. Rub. Scaccarii, folio 247.

^m Beckwith's edition of Blount's Tenures, p. 129, referring to Plac. Coron. 22. E. I.

separated), and it remained with them until John de Boutetourt, Lord of Wilby, became possessed of it by his marriage with Maud, the heiress of her brother, Hugh Fitz Otho, Lord of Mendlesham, in Suffolk, in the 30th year of Edward I.ⁿ

After the death of Lord Boutetourt (18th E. II.) Maud, his widow, sold this office to William Lord Latimer, for himself and his heirs, in the 3d year of Edward III. As he made that purchase without the King's license having been first obtained, he was obliged to sue out his pardon, which was allowed; and the King further granted for himself and his heirs, as far as he had power, that the said William should have and hold, for himself and his heirs, for ever, the said office, of the King and his heirs, by the service due and accustomed, without any impediment, &c.^o

After this he seems to have enjoyed his office quietly, until about the 27th year of Edward III. when he presented a petition to the King in parliament, stating that the office of Engraver and Maker of the King's Dies, in the Tower of London and city of Canterbury, belonged to him and his heirs, as plainly appeared by divers evidences. That of late he had been disturbed by the King's servants, in having and using the said office, touching the coins of noble, half and farthing noble, and the groat; because the said coins were then but newly commenced. He therefore prayed, that the King would please to command full inquiry to be made, in that parliament, touching the same, and do right and reason to him, on the consideration that he had possession of the said office before the aforesaid new money was made.

In consequence of this petition, he was commanded to produce his charter, and other evidences.^p

The further proceedings do not appear; but it should seem that the determination was favourable to the petitioner, as the office was

ⁿ Magna Britannia, Vol. V. p. 210. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 46.

^o Pat. 3. E. III. p^t 1. m. 18.

^p Bundle in the Tower unclassified. The instrument is without date; but, from the mention of groats as new coins, it was probably issued soon after the 27th E. III. when those coins first appear in the indentures.

confirmed to him about twenty years afterward, without any exception of the coins abovementioned.^q

He held this office until his death in the 4th year of Richard II.^r after which I have not met with any thing further relating to it.

A Seal of William Fitz Otho has been engraven, as if it were his seal of office, but I believe without due consideration. It represents him as sitting in an antique chair, with a sword in his left hand, and in the right an instrument, which has been supposed to be intended for the coining hammer. Its form is, however, very ill calculated for that purpose, as it resembles a common pickax, the head of which is pointed at both ends. In Madox's History of the Exchequer is a rude representation of a duel, in which each of the combatants is armed with a weapon precisely similar to this.^s

The inscription on the seal is + SIGIL WILLELMI FILII OTH. without any reference to his office; so that there is nothing upon the face of the seal to warrant the appropriation which has been made.^t

Pinchbeck's Register of the Abbey of St. Edmundsbury divides the duties of this office between two persons. "In Cambio Londini ad cuneos Regis custodiendos duos sunt intendentes; unus, viz. ex parte Regis, qui ferrum et asserum emere debet, et a Fabro usque ad manus sculptoris lamina ferrea formata portare; ipsosque cuneos sculptos, et rite paratos, quotiens cudere et monetare necesse fuerit, deliberare; et monetarios, ut apertè flodones cudant, supervidere: et alius ex parte D. Johannis de Buturtis, qui habet in uxorem filiam et

^q Pat. 47. E. III. p. 2. m. 15.

^r Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 32. He left one daughter and heir, Elizabeth, wife of John Lord Nevill of Raby; but I do not find that this office descended to her.

^s Volume I. p. 551.

^t See Bibl. Topographica Britannica, N° XX. p. 63; and Mr. Gough's Letter, Gent. Mag. April 1796, p. 289. This Seal was first engraven by Vertue, and is said to have been copied from the original in the Library of King's College, Cambridge; but upon inquiry being made there a few years since by Mr. Gough, at my desire, the Seal was not to be found. It was published with the Latin poems of Nicholas Hardinge, Esq. by his son, George Hardinge, Esq. in 1780. See Gent. Mag. referred to above, where a copy of Vertue's engraving is given.

hæredem Thomæ filii Ottonis, cujus est de feodo cudere cuneos Regis, qui deserviunt per totam Angliam, qui capit pro sculptura et fabricatura cujuslibet duodenæ vijs. cujus vero officium est cuneos usitatos deformare, ne amplius deserviant, et penes se omnes veteres cuneos ad opus Domini, ut pro feodo suo, retinere.”^u

The former of these officers I have not met with elsewhere, and suspect that there is some inaccuracy in the above statement. If the latter part of it be correct, the engravers were actually working deputies to the Cuneatores. It is, however, scarcely possible to form a decided opinion upon the nature of this office, from the few circumstances concerning it, which at this time remain upon record.

The high rank of some of the persons who held it, and the manner in which they presented the engravers to the Barons of the Exchequer (not as if they were their deputies, but as officers actually appointed by them), almost forbids the supposition that they themselves could be the mere engravers and formers of the dies; and yet they are stated so to be, even as early as the reign of Henry I. and also as late as the petition of the Lord Latimer, in the 27th year of Edward III. which has been detailed above.

A List of the Names of those who have held the Office of Cuneator, as far as they have been discovered.

Anno.		WILLIAM I.? or II.?
Some time previous to the reign of Henry I.	}	Otto the elder.
		HENRY I.
Before 7.		Otto the younger. ^x
Between 8 and 27.		William Fitz Otto. ^y

^u Pinchbeck's Register. Appendix to Batteley's Antiq S. Edmundi Burgi, N° X. p. 135. What is there printed as a note, forms part of the text in Kempe's Register, Harl. MSS. N° 645, folio 137.

^x Cart. Antiq. in Turr. Lond. V. N° 17.

^y Id. N° 20.

Anno. JOHN.

6. William Fitz Otho.^a

HENRY III.

27. William Fitz Otho.^a

49. Thomas Fitz Oto.^b

EDWARD I.

8. Hugh Fitz Otho, for his nephew, Otho.^c

18. Thomas Fitz Otho, Die Graver in fee.^d

22. Otho Fitz William.^e

30. John Lord Boutetourt.^f

EDWARD II.

EDWARD III.

3.^g }
27. } William Lord Latimer, until his death in
47.^h } the reign of Richard II.

I cannot trace the Cuneatores any lower. After the death of Lord Latimer, the office seems to have been no longer hereditary.

^a Cl. 6. Joh. m. 1.

^a Madox Hist. Excheq. Vol. II. p. 88. [He was dead 41 H. III. Madox Baronia, p. 249, where he is called Otto Fitz William]

^b Id. Vol. II. p. 11.

^c Lib. Rub. Scacc. folio 247.

^d Mag. Rot. 18. E. I. Rot. 1. a Madox's MSS. Vol. LXIX. p. 85.

^e Beckwith's Blount's Tenures, p. 129. Probably for William Fitz Otho.

^f Magna Britannia, Vol. V. p. 210.

^g Pat. 3 E. III. p. 1. m. 18.

^h Bundle in the Tower unclassified; and Pat. 47 E. III. p. 2. m. 15. ad Officium sculpturæ et fabricæ Cuneorum Regis, in Tur. Lond. et in Cantuar.

XXI. *Copy of an Indenture of Retainer, relating to the Expedition against France in the 19th year of King Henry VI. With a Letter from the King to the Bishop of Bath his Chancellor. Communicated by Samuel Lysons, Esq. V.P. F.R.S. Keeper of the Records in the Tower, in a Letter to Henry Ellis, Esq. F.R.S. Secretary.*

Read 20th May, 1813.

DEAR SIR,

Record Office, Tower,
12th May, 1813.

ENCLOSED is the Copy of an Indenture of Retainer preserved in this Office, whereby Sir James Ormond K^t retains Mr. James Skidmore, a Herefordshire Gentleman, to serve under him in the Expedition against France under Richard Duke of York in the 19th year of King Henry the sixth:

And of a Letter from King Henry VI. to the Bishop of Bath his Chancellor, on the subject of the same Expedition, which you will be so good as to lay before the Society of Antiquaries the first convenient opportunity.

I am, Dear Sir,

Your very obedient and faithful Servant,

SAMUEL LYSONS.

Henry Ellis, Esq. &c. &c.

INDENTURE OF RETAINER.

THIS Indenture, made bitwene Sir James of Ormond knyght, son and heir to the Erl of Ormond, on the one part, and James Skidmore Esquier of the countee of Hereford on the other part, witnesseth that the seid James Skidmore is belast and w^holden toward the seid Sir

James for an hole yeer to do him service of Werre in the perties of France and of Normandie, in all places where as it shall like the seid Sir James to ordeyn and comaunde him, as a man of armes with vj archers in his company, all on horsbak, and wele chosen men, and likly persones wele and suffisantly armed, horsed, and arayed, ev'y man aft^s his degree; that is to say, that the seid James Skidmore have herneis complete, w^t basnet or salade, with viser, spere, axe, swerd, and dagg'; And all the seid archers specially to have good Jakks of defence, salades, swerdes, and sheves of xl. arwes atte lest: and the seid James Skidmore shall take wages of the seid Sir James in the man' folowyng, that is to sey for himself xij^d. st'ling the day, w^t the reward accustomed, and for ev'y of the seid archers vj^d. st'ling the day, of the which wages and reward he shall be paied before the hand for a quart' of a yeer by way of p'st, and for the second q^{rt}' the day that he shall make first his moustres of himself and his seid archers on the see side, or where as the seid Sir James will ordeyne him to do; and for the other half yeer, he shall be content and paied for himself and his seid Archers in France and in Normandye, aft' the wages of France, and aft' their moustres and reviewes, in money of France, or upon appa- tice of the cuntres desobeissant, or in provisions, in such wise as by raison he ought to hold him content the yeer of his seid s'vice; and w^hholding begynning the seid day of his first moustres; the which moustres shall be made at the day and place therefore to be appoynted by the hiegh and myghty Prince Richard Duk of York; and the seid James shall take for himself and his seid Archers huk' of my seid lord the Duk' liv'e, paying for theym like as oth' souldiors of their degrees do: and the seid James Skidmore byndeth hym by thise p'sent l'ies to make moustres of him and his seid archers at all tymes whan he shall be comaunded or required by the seid sir James, during the seid terme, and before any persone or persones that him shall like to comytte thereunto. And the seid Sir James shall have aswele the thirde part of the wynnings of Werre of the seid James Skidmore, as the thirde pt of the thirddes of theseid Archers duryng the seid tyme: and the seid James Skidmore shall have all the persons of Werre yf any be taken by him or by any of his seid archers during the seid tyme

except Kyngs, Kyngessones, Princes, and oth' Capitains and men of Kyngs blode or oth' havynge their power, the which all shall be res'ved prison's to the seid Sir James, for the which he shall reasonably content him or theym that shall fortune to take any such prisoners. And except also rebelles and traitors which heretofore have ben the King's liegemen and dwelled in the Kyngs obeissance the which shall semblably be reserved to my seid lord the duk and to the seid Sir James for to have the punycyon that they have deserved. And the seid James Skidmore byndeth him by thise p'sent lres to serve duely and truly w^t his seid archers the seid Sir James duryng all the seid tyme and to make w^t hem Wacche and Warde in all places and at all tymes whan he shall be resonably required and to kepe theym in justice and from robbyng and pillynge of the cuntrees of the Kyng's obeissance, and of his trewe people and subgetts there w'ynne; and for to obeye at all tymes to such cries as shall be published and proclamed by the ordinance and comaundement of my seid lord the duk. And in cas the seid James Skidmore on his ptie wele and truly kepe, observe, and fulfille all man' of covenants and condicions afor seid in the forme abovesaid, the seid Sir James granteth by this Indenture that than an obligacion of an C. mark, in which the seid James Skidmore is bound to the seid Sir James, be voide and of no strength. And els the seid obligacion abide in his full force and virtue. In witnesse wherof the parties aforeid chaungeably to thise Indentures han sette her Seals the xiiijth day of Januer the xixth yeer of the reigne of Kyng Henry the sixt.

STODELEY.

Letter from King Henry VI. to the Bishop of Bath.

By the King.

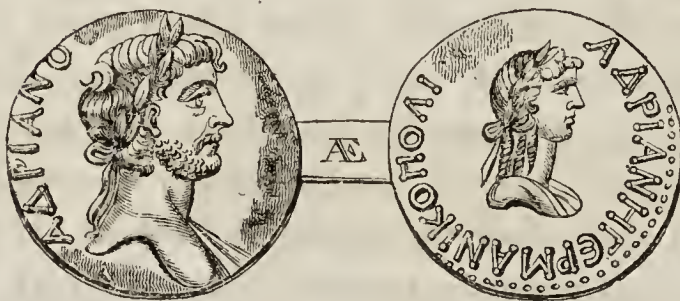
W^{ORSHIPFUL} fader in God, right trusty and right welbeloved, We have understande aswel by the lres of oure Cousin the Duc of York as by the report of the Lord Scroope, how that for asmuch as the date

of our lres of Coṁission, made unto the saide Lorde Scroope and oth̃r for the taking of the moustres of our saide Cousin and of his Retenue, expired upon Satreday last passed, Sir Henry Huse and oth̃r personnes, not mowing to be there at the said day because of thaire late withholding, been as yit unmoustred, for whiche cause oure said Cousin for the hasty spede and setting forth of his said Armee hath desired that it wolde like us in al haste to do make oure newe lres of Coṁission unto Dalengrigge, Ovedale, and Pownde, to take the moustres of the said Sir Henry Huse, and of the remenant that appered not during the date of oure forsaide Coṁission. Oure said Cousin prometting unto us in word of Prince that unto his powair and knowelage there shulde no maner of personne be moustred nor passed undeuely by favo^r, not by the mene therof, no deceyt nor untreuth laboured, nor other thing doon that might be prejudice unto us, Wherefore we wol and charge yow that undre our grete Seel ye do make oure other lres of Commission in deue forme unto the saide Dalengrigge, Ovedale, and Pownde. Chargyng thayme to take moustres of the remenant of the Retenue of our saide Cousin that hath not yit moustred. In the which we wol that they accepte noon unhable personne nor noon of thayme that were unhabled and crossed by the saide lorde Scrope and other oure Coṁissioners. Yeven undre oure Signet at oure Manoir of Shene the last day of May.

To the worshipful fader in God
oure right trusty and right
welbeloved the Bisshop of
Bathe oure Chancellier of
Englande.

XXII. *An Account of a Coin of Germanicopolis, in a Letter to Sir Henry Charles Englefield, Bart. F.R.S. &c. President of the Society of Antiquaries, from the Rev. Stephen Weston, B.D. F.R.S. and A.S.*

Read 5th December, 1811.



SIR,

MONSIEUR Belley, in his Dissertation on the Coins of Germanicopolis, which he ascribes to Paphlagonia, begins by saying, "No antiquary has yet fixed the first year of the era which the town of Germanicopolis used in its acts and public monuments;" and, I may add, that no antiquary before or since Mons. Belley's time has suspected that there existed a Coin of Germanicopolis seventy-six years before those of Severus, which bear the dates of 200—211, 214, 215. Sixteen of these have come to hand, whilst the one exhibited above, with the name of Adriane GermanicopolitΩN upon it, has never yet been published. Hadrian's reign began in 117 A. D. and Severus's in 193 of the same era. Pliny places Germanicopolis in Bithynia, near the Propontis; Ammianus Marcellinus gives the Germanicopolis of Severus to Isauria; but that it was in Paphlagonia appears from the coins themselves, on which are the words ΕΣΤΙΑ ΘΕΩΝ ΠΑ, for ΕΣΤΙΑ ΘΕΩΝ ΠΑΦΛΑΓΟΝΙΑΣ. It is not uncommon to find the province with the town: Balanea has Syria, Nicomedia Bithynia, Neapolis Palestine, and Amasia Pontus. Estia means the house of the gods, from the multiplicity of temples, of Serapis, Diana, Venus, Hercules, Salus, &c. Thus Virgil calls Troy, O Patria, O Divūm domus, Ilium. Æn. II.

v. 241. And Mopsuestia, a city of Cilicia, has its name from being Mopsi *ἑστία*. In the interior of Paphlagonia, the most considerable modern city is Kastamoni; “and there is found no position,” says D’Anville, “which may better represent Germanicopolis, that was taken from its native prince by Mahomet the Second.” Paphlagonia, in which was Adriane GermanicopolitΩN, or Germanicopolis, to which the Emperor Hadrian gave his name, furnished the hero Pylæmenes for the Trojan war, as we read in the second book of the Iliad, v. 851. Pylæmenes, a later King of this name, the friend of the Romans, was dethroned by Mithridates, who joined a part of Paphlagonia to Pontus. Pompey defeated him, and restored the interior of Paphlagonia to the princes of the race of Pylæmenes. It was from this war that Pompey brought to Rome the dried plants of Mithridates, and gave them to his freedman Pompeius LENAËVS to arrange. See Pliny *passim*.

Sir, I have the honor to remain,

Your most obedient humble servant,

S. WESTON.

Edwards Street, Portman Square,
30th Nov. 1811.

XXIII. *Conjectures concerning the Instruments called Celts.*
By R. P. Knight, Esq. F. A. S.

Read April 29th, 1813.

AN accurate and circumstantial account of a great number of these instruments, found at different times and in different places, together with the various opinions of the learned concerning the uses for which they were intended, has been published in the fifth volume of the *Archaeologia* by the late Dr. Lort. Many hundreds of them have been discovered in almost every part of the British islands; many, also, though not so many, in France; one only, and that probably carried thither, in Spain: and none in any of the more southern or eastern parts of the Roman empire: unless, indeed, we admit those which Count Caylus says were sent to him from Herculaneum:^a but as this buried city has been, from the time of its discovery to the present day, the common source, from which every Italian dealer in antiquities derives his wares, especially those of his own manufacture, and as none ever found their way into the Royal Museum of Portici, or came to the knowledge of those vigilant directors and superintendants of the subterranean researches, Camillo Paderni and Father Antonio; or to that of the no less watchful observer of their results, Sir William Hamilton, we may safely conclude that the Count was imposed upon; and that these articles, sent to him from Naples, had either been brought there from the north-western parts of Europe, or, what is more likely, made there on purpose for him: since cast-works, such as these invariably are, may be counterfeited, so as to deceive more skilful judges than he was, even by less dextrous and experienced artists than those of Naples and Rome.

^a *Recueil d'Antiquités*, Vol. II. p. 321—33.

The circumstance alone of none being found in the south-eastern provinces of the Roman empire, affords a sufficient refutation to the opinion of Hearne, adopted by Dr. Lort, that they were Roman chissels for cutting and polishing stone; since all the great stone quarries, worked by the Romans out of Italy, were in those provinces; nor do we any where read of a single slab or column being brought to adorn Rome from either Gaul or Britain, where these instruments are principally found. The greatest part of them likewise having been fixt by grooves into their handles, and not having their handles inserted into sockets,^b could not possibly have resisted the blows of the hammer, applied, as they necessarily must be, in hewing stone: nor are the sockets of those of a different pattern strong enough for such use. Annexed to the socket, too, there is frequently a loop, by which it was tied to the shaft or handle inserted in it to prevent its falling off;^c so that it must have been employed in some purposes that would render it liable to become loose; which is not the case with a chissel, since every blow applied to the extremity of the handle would tend to fix it, as a wedge, more firmly in its socket. They were, therefore, occasionally at least, employed in some more irregular and desultory exercise, in which they were brandished or whirled about, so as to cause the heads to fly off, unless so secured.

It does not appear that the inhabitants of these islands, or of the adjacent parts of the continent, were, any more than those of America, acquainted with any other metals, than gold in its native state, till they received them from the more civilized nations of the south and east: for though they supplied the Phœnician merchants with tin at a period beyond the reach of history, they seem to have supplied it in the ore; no implement or ornament of their own manufacture having hitherto been discovered in that material, though such numbers of different kinds have been found in gold. Their primitive weapons and working tools were of flint, or the hardest stone that they could procure; and the forms of them, being pointed out by the uses for which they were intended, nearly the same in all countries.

^b See *Archaeolog.* Vol. V. Pl. VII. VIII. & IX.

^c *Ib.*

The most necessary, and consequently the most common, were those of the axe and adze, each consisting of a stone, usually about six inches long, ground to as fine an edge at one end as the brittleness of the material would allow to be useful, and tapered off to a point at the other; so that, when fixt upon the shaft, either with the edge perpendicular for an axe, or horizontal for an adze, every blow stricken with it might drive it, as a wedge, more tightly into the bandages which held it, or fix it more firmly in its hole or socket.

When the commerce of the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Greeks, and Romans, supplied better materials for their tools, it was natural for them to preserve the same forms, with such improvements only as such materials would naturally suggest; whence, I presume, arose the British and Gallic Celt, as well as the American Tomahawk; both probably applied, as occasion required, to uses equally various and general, both military and domestic, to which both are equally adapted. The first and second articles, exhibited in the annexed plate, (Pl. XIII.) of the same size, are of a hard calcareous stone of a greenish colour, the one (fig. 1.) found in the north of Italy, and the other (fig. 2.) in the island of Jamaica. The third, (Pl. XIV.) found in Hampshire, is of flint;^d and a comparison of them with the Celts published in Plates VII. VIII. IX. and X. of the fifth volume, will illustrate the opinion here stated; which is confirmed by some of them having been found in brass cases, exactly fitted to preserve the fineness of the edge;^e and still more by one described in Mr. Whitaker's History of Manchester;^f which had enough of its ancient wooden shaft remaining to shew that the form of the whole had been that of a small axe.

The

ΑΞΙΝΗΝ ευχαλκον, ελαϊνω αμφι πελεκω,^g

which Pisander takes from under his shield to attack Menelaus in close fight, appears to have been a small light axe of this kind, wielded with one hand; while the ΠΕΛΕΚΤΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ, or great axe, employed

^d The specimens engraved in Plates XIII. XIV. are in the collection of Mr. P. Knight.

^e See Archaeol. Vol. V. Pl. VII. Fig. 2, 3, 4.

^f Vol. I. p. 84.

^g Il. N. 612.

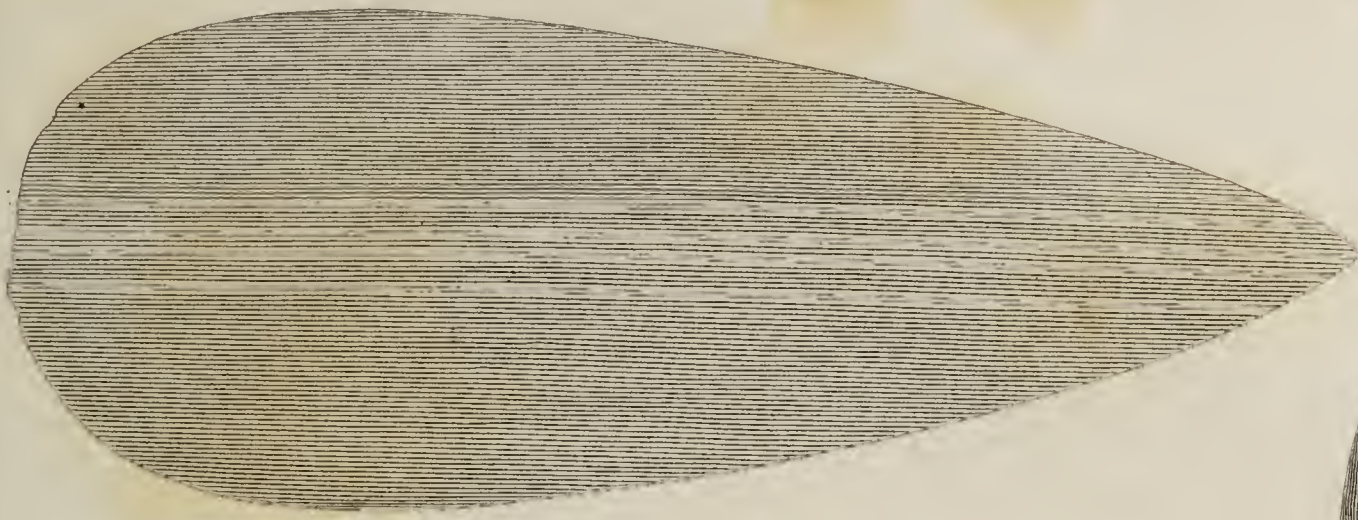


Fig. 1.

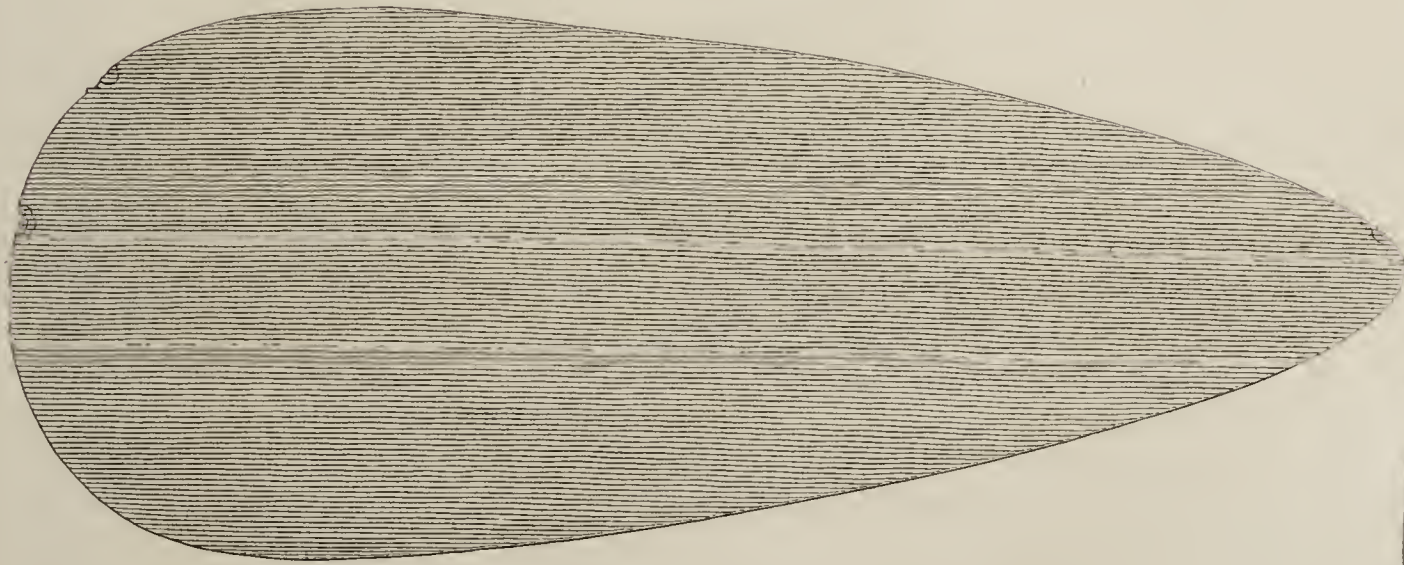
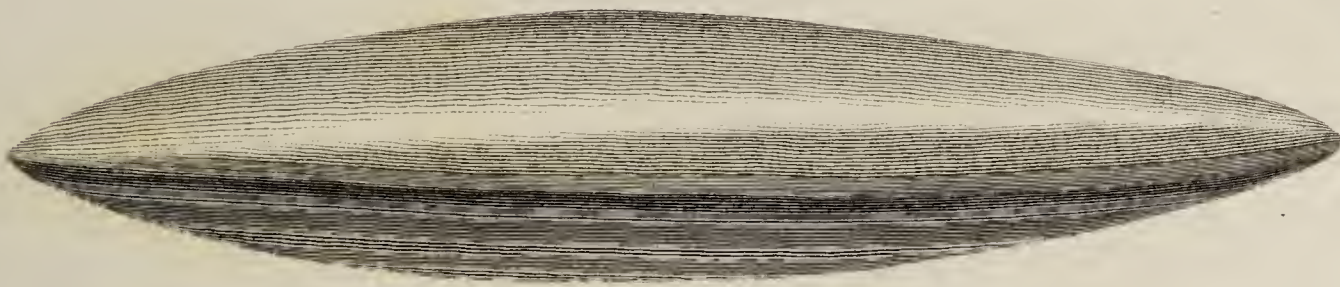
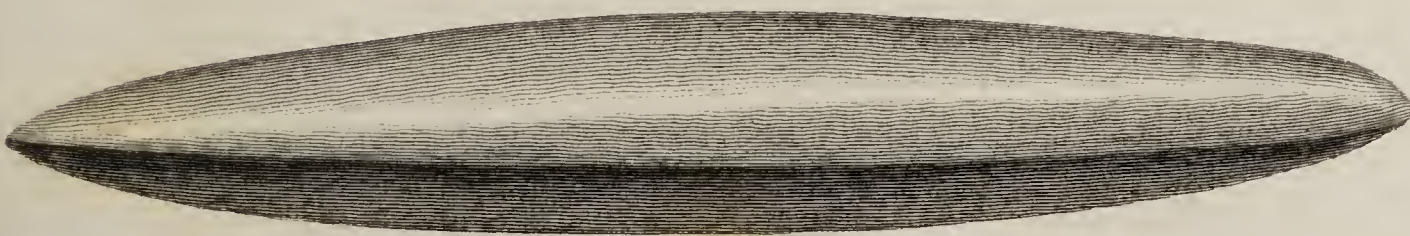
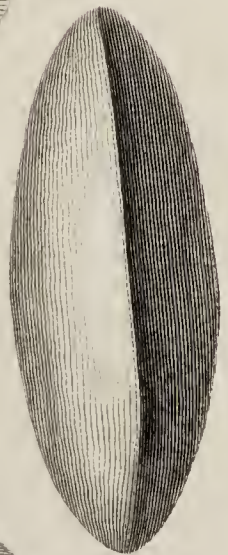
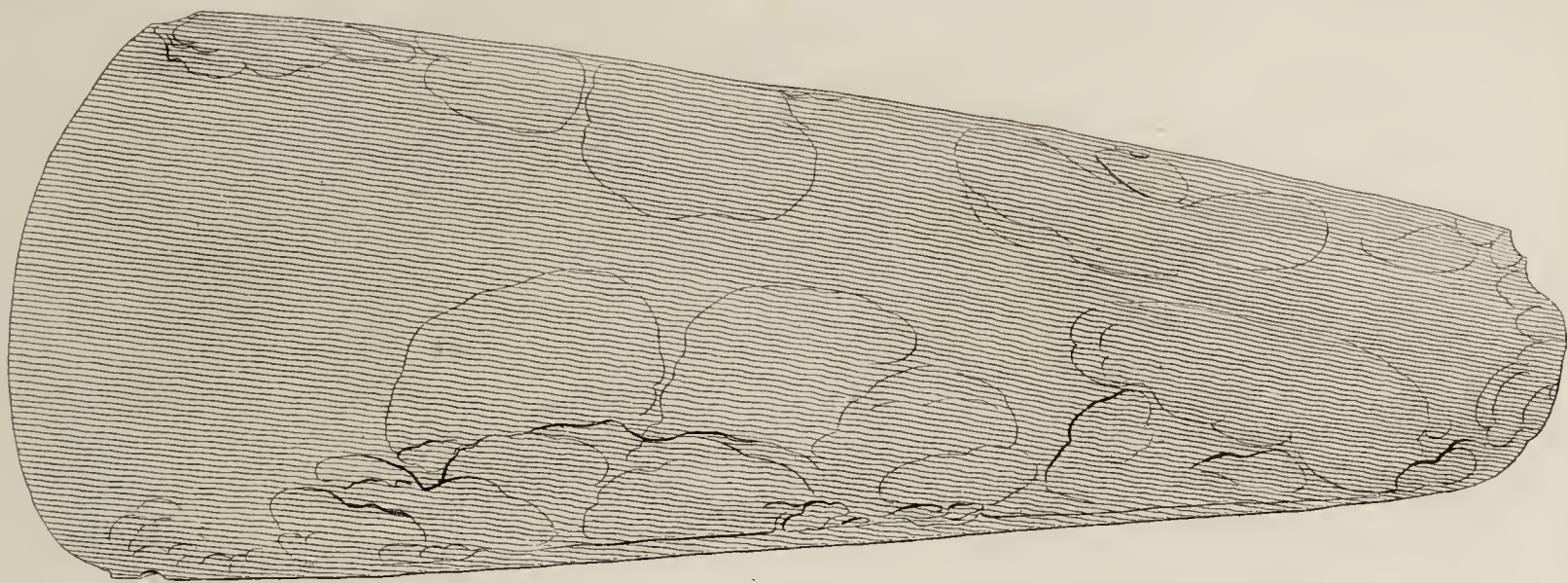


Fig. 2.





then, as it is now, in hewing timber, required both. As metal was, however, in the early stages of civilization, extremely scarce and valuable, both were probably attached to the shaft in the same manner, either by being inserted in a perforated, or fixt upon a pointed piece of wood, placed transversely on the top of it, and the whole held together by bandages; which may explain the task employed by Penelope to try and baffle her suitors, since found equally effectual in trying and baffling the learning and sagacity of critics and commentators: for as the same word is occasionally employed to signify the axe entire, and the shaft or mounting only, without its metal head,^h there can be little doubt of its being employed in the latter sense in the passage in question;ⁱ and that the twelve axes in a row, through which the rival lovers are to shoot an arrow, as Ulysses used to do, are the mountings only, through the perforations of which, prepared to receive the heads, the dart was to pass.

^h See Il. N. 612. Ψ 851, &c.

ⁱ Od. T. 573.

XXIV. *Transcript of an original Letter from King Edward the Fourth, when Earl of March, and his brother the Earl of Rutland, to their father, Richard Duke of York, preserved among the Cotton Manuscripts in the British Museum. Communicated by Henry Ellis, Esq. F. R. S. Secretary. Its chief singularity is the use of the word natural as implying a legitimate Son.*

Read May 6th, 1813.

(*MS. Cotton. Vesp. F. III. fol. 9.*)

Ryght hyegh and ryght myghty Prince, Oure ful redouted and ryght noble Lord and fadur, as lowely with all oure herts as we your trewe and *naturall* sonnes can or may, we recomaunde us vnto youre noble grace, humbly besechyng your nobley and worthy fadurhode daily to geve us your hertely blessing, thrughe whiche we trust muche the rather to encrees, and growe to vertu and to spede the bettur in all matiers and things that we shall use, occupie, and exc'cise. Ryght high and ryght myghty Prince, Our ful redouted Lorde and ffadur, We thanke our blessed Lorde, not oonly of your honorable conducte and good spede in all your matiers and besynesse, and of your gracious prevaile ayenst thentent and malice of your evil willers, but also of the knowelage that hit pleased your nobley to lete us now late have of the same by relacion of Sir Watier Devreux knyght and John Milewatier squier and John at Nokes yeman of your honorable Chamber. Also we thonke your noblesse and good ffadurhod of our grene gownes, nowe late sende vnto vs, to our grete comfort, beseching your good lordeschip to remembre our porteux: and that we myght have some fyne bonetts sende unto us by the next seure messng', for necessite so requireth. Ou'e this ryght noble Lorde

and ffadur please hit youre highnesse to witte that we have charged your servant William Smyth berer of thees for to declare vn to your nobley certayne things on our behalf namely concernyng and touching the odieux roule and demenyng of Richard Crofte and of his brother. Wherefore we beseche your graciouse Lordeschip and full noble ffadurhood to here him in exposicioun of the same. And as to his relacion to yeve ful feith and credence. Ryght hiegh and ryght myghty prince, our ful redoubted and ryght noble lorde and ffadur, We beseche almyghty Jhu yeve yowe as good Lyfe and long, with asmuche contenuall perfite prosperite as your princely hert can best desir. Writen at your Castill of Lodelowe on Setursday in the Astur Weke.

Your humble sonnes,

E. MARCHE, and
E. RUTLONDE.

XXV. *Enumeration and Explanation of the Devices formerly borne as Badges of Cognizance by the House of York, in a Letter to Matthew Raper, Esq. V. P., F. R. S. from Henry Ellis, Esq. Secretary.*

Read 8th July, 1813.

DEAR SIR,

British Museum, July 7th, 1813.

I BEG to transmit to the Society of Antiquaries, through your hands, the copy of a document of some curiosity.

While searching among the Digby Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, in the autumn of last year, I discovered an enumeration and explanation of the Devices borne as Badges of Cognizance by Richard Duke of York, the father of King Edward the fourth, written in a contemporary hand, evidently in the Duke's lifetime.

The enumeration is a short one, but there are some Members of the Society, at least, to whom it may prove acceptable. I wish we could discover another such Memorandum explaining the Badges of the House of Lancaster. I found it written on a blank leaf of parchment at the beginning of the Digby Manuscript N° 82.

“THEs ben the Names of the Lordeshippes with the Bages that perteynyth to the Duke of Yorke.

Furste, the Dukeshyp of Yorke with the Badges ben the Fawcon and the Feturlocke.

The Bages that he beryth by Conysbrow ys the Fawcon wyth a Mayden ys hedde and hur here hangyng abowte here shuldris with a Crowne aboute hir nekke.

The Bages that he beryth by the Castle of Clyfford is a Whyte Roose.

The Bages that he beryth by the Erldom of the March ys a white Lyon.

The Bages that he beryth by the Erldom of Wolst' ys a blacke Dragon.

The Bages that [he] beryth by Kyng Edwarde is a blewe Bore with his tuskis, and his cleis, and his membrys of Golde.

The Bages that he beryth by Kyng Richard ys a whyte Herte and the Sonne shyning.

The Bages that he beryth by the Honor of Clare ys a blacke Bolle, rowgh, his Hornes, and his cleys and membrys of Gold.

The Bages that he beryth by the fayre Mayde of Kent is a whyte Hynde."

Shakspeare, in the First Part of King Henry the sixth, has represented the Temple Garden as the place where the Roses of York and Lancaster originated.

Plantagenet is made to say,

" Let him that is a true-born Gentleman,
And stands upon the honour of his birth,
If he suppose that I have pleaded truth,
From off this brier pluck a *white* Rose with me."

Somerset replies:

" Let him that is no coward, nor no flatterer,
But dare maintain the party of the Truth,
Pluck a *red* Rose from off this Thorn with me."

The *White* Rose, as we have seen, was the mark of Cognizance derived from the Castle and Honor of Clifford. The *Red* Rose had most probably a similar origin: and was perhaps nothing more than an ancient tenure.

The greater number of the Badges enumerated in the Digby Manuscript are still seen as popular signs. The White Hart, in Bishopsgate Street, had, till within these few years, the date of 1430 in the front of the house.

I am, dear Sir,
With much respect,
Your obliged and faithful servant,

HENRY ELLIS.

MATTHEW RAPER, Esq. V. P. &c. &c.

XXVI. *Account of some Lids of Stone Coffins discovered in Cambridge Castle in 1810. By the Rev. T. Kerrich, M. A. F. S. A. Principal Librarian to the University of Cambridge; in a Letter to Nicholas Carlisle, Esq. Secretary.*

Read 1st April, 1813.

DEAR SIR,

Cambridge, March 29, 1813.

I HERE send you Drawings (Pl. XV. XVI.) of some broken Lids of Stone Coffins, which were discovered in Cambridge Castle, when great part of it was destroyed, in the beginning of the year 1810.

This castle, we are told, was built by William the Conqueror; and as they were found under part of the original ramparts, it should seem that they must be, at least, as ancient as his time. However I do not mean to offer any conjectures concerning their antiquity, but shall be obliged to you to lay the Drawings of them before the Society, if you think them worthy of their notice.

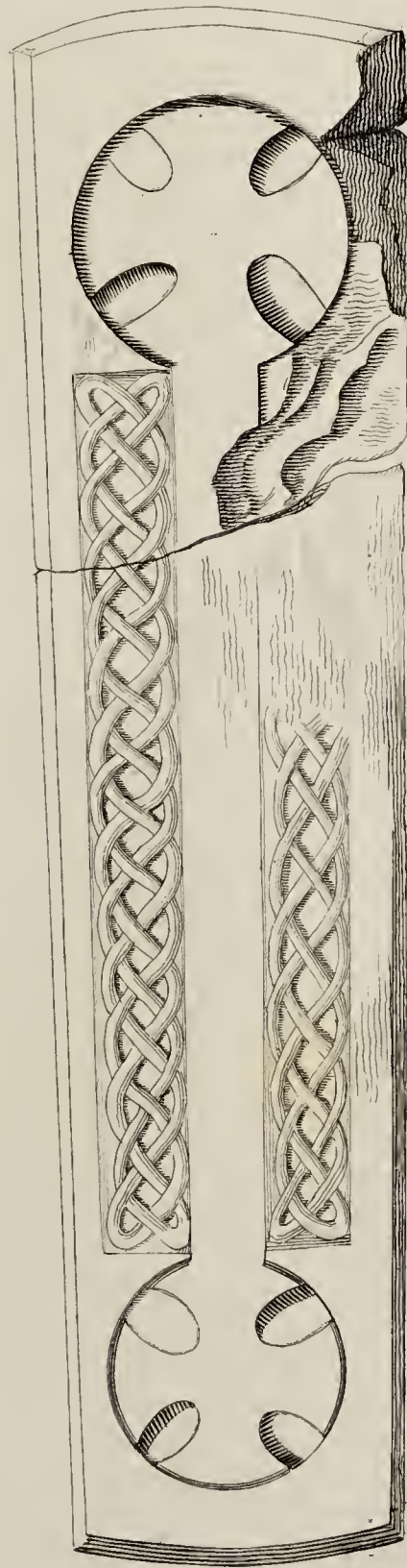
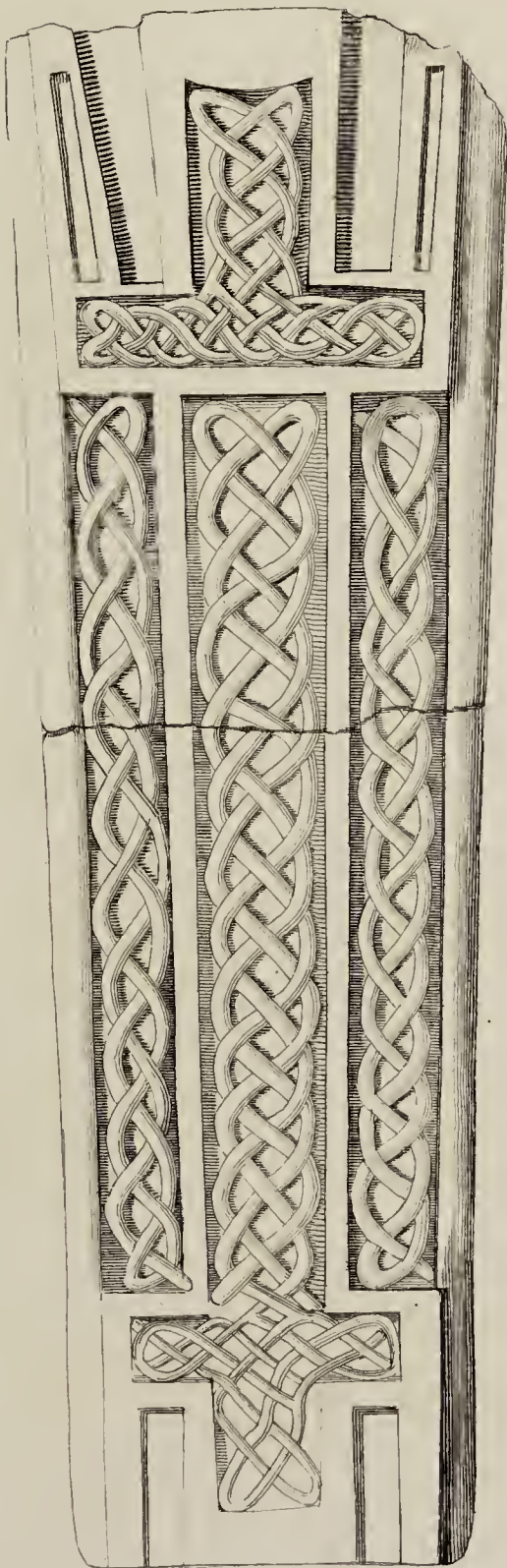
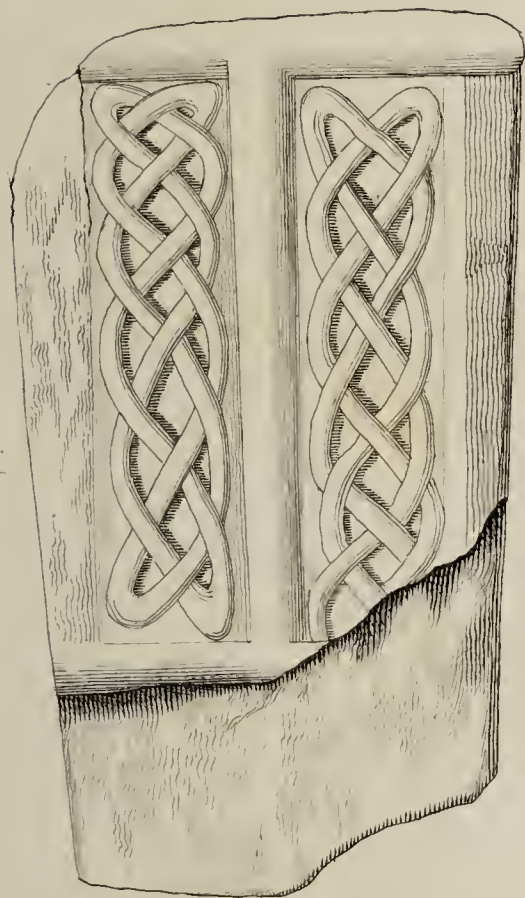
With them were found two stone coffins, but much too large to have belonged to any of these lids, and several small flat stones, with a cross rudely cut upon each side of them, represented at *a, a, a*, in the drawings; these appear to have been set up to mark the places where the coffins were buried, as our common grave-stones are now in church-yards.

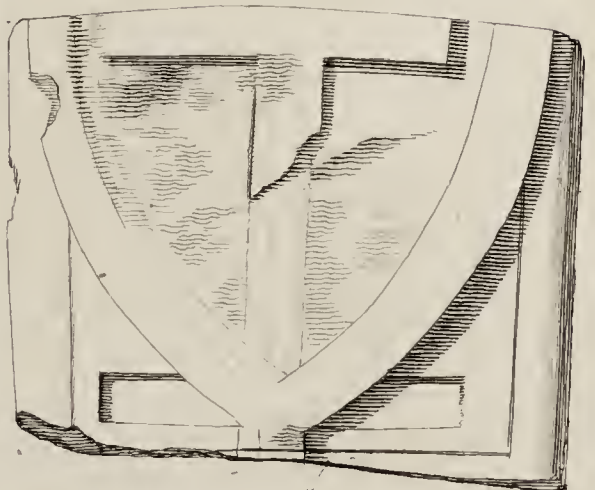
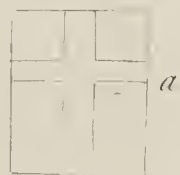
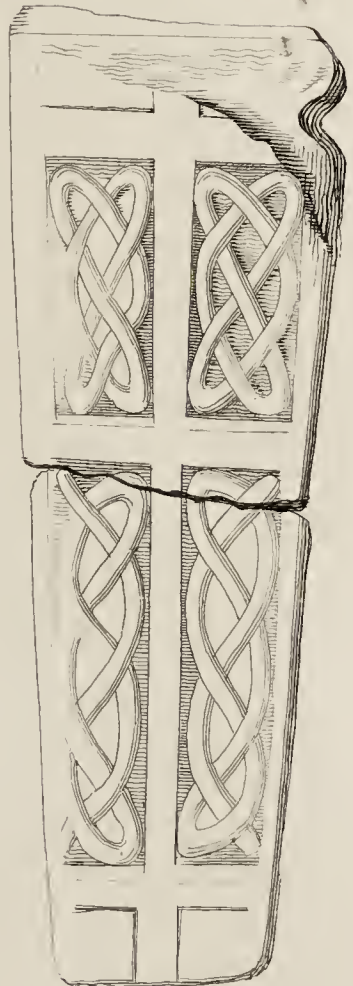
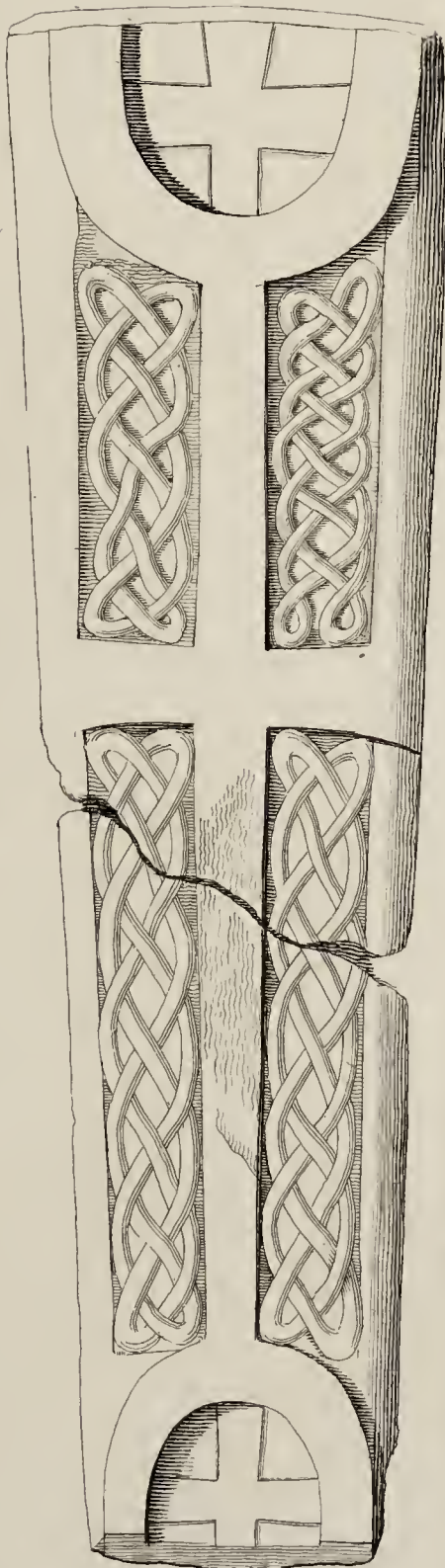
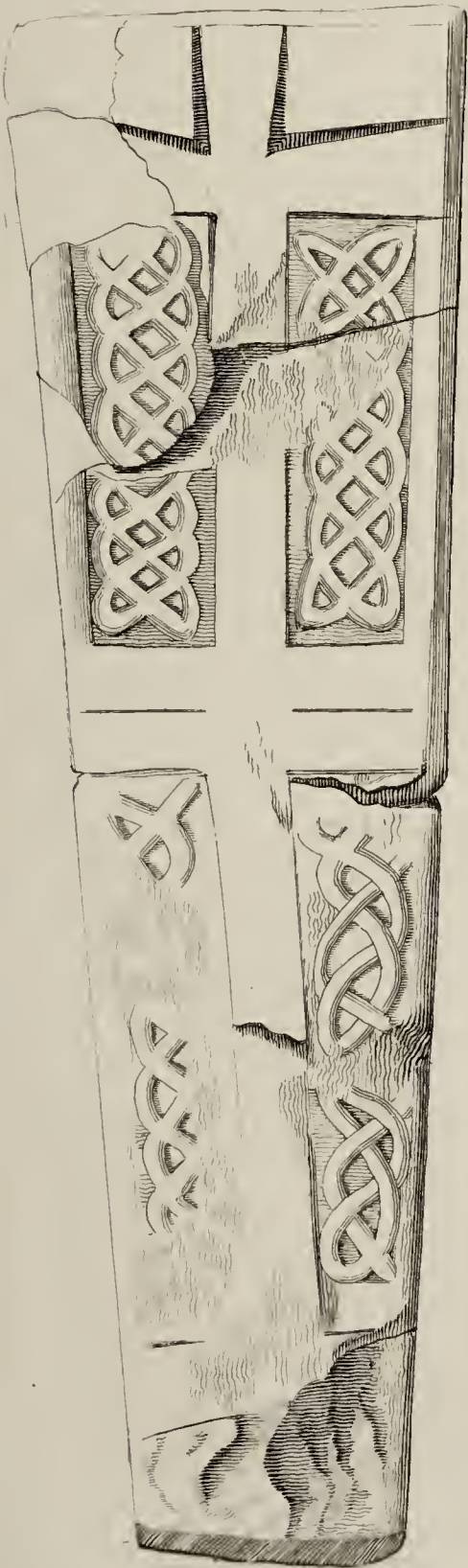
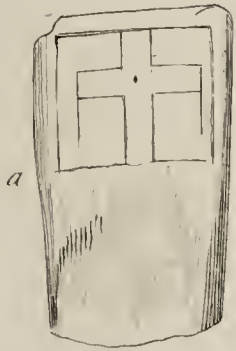
Many human bones, and several stone coffins, have, at different times, been found, not far from the spot in which these lay, and all near the gate of the castle; particularly two in August 1785, with a skeleton in each; and not long before, a remarkable one, containing, besides the body, which was quite perfect till it was touched, a long slender wand, of which I saw fragments in the possession of the late Mr. Masters of Landbeach, and some small bones, at the time supposed to be those of an unborn child; but they were most certainly those of a bird, as was evident from the apophysis upon each of the ribs; but no skull was found, and it was not possible to determine whether it was a hawk, or of some other species.

I remain, dear Sir, your obedient servant,

T. KERRICH.

TO NICHOLAS CARLISLE, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.





XXVII. *Description of a Roman Altar found in the neighbourhood of Aldston Moor, in Cumberland: in a Letter to the Earl of Aberdeen, K. T. President of the Society of Antiquaries, &c. &c. by the Rev. Stephen Weston, B.D. F.R.S. and S.A.*

Read 18th June, 1812.

MY LORD,

I BEG leave to offer to your Lordship and the Society a Description of a Roman Altar lately dug up in the neighbourhood of Aldston Moor, in Cumberland, near a military road, and not far from a great Roman station. The altar is three feet high, sixteen inches wide, and eight thick. It is divided into three compartments, the capital, the square or plane, and the base. On the top is an oval cavity one inch and a half deep, and about nine over by six, in which the wine, the frankincense, and the fire were placed, and was called *Thuribulum*, the censer, or the focus; but this hole is not on all the Roman altars found in Great Britain. On the sides however of the one I am describing are two bass-reliefs, representing on one part the infant Hercules strangling two serpents (as he is seen on a silver coin of Croton in Italy), and on the other the god in all his strength about to combat the serpent in the garden of the Hesperides (as he appears on a coin of Geta struck at Pergamus). The inscription on the plane runs thus:

DEO
HERCVLI
C.VITELLIVS
ATTICIANVS
Æ.LEG.VI.
V.P.F.

“C. Vitellius Atticianus, Centurion of the sixth legion, has caused this Vow to be offered to the God Hercules.”

We find the sixth legion, in Horsley, on a stone in Westmorland, N° VI. And in Scotland, N° III. is an inscription in which Antoninus Pius is mentioned, where the stops are of the same form as these on the stone we have described. This curious piece of antiquity is the property of an individual, and was brought to London at his expense; and I conceived that this short account of it, with the accompanying Drawing (Plate XVII.) as the altar itself is too massy to admit of an easy removal, might not be disagreeable to the Society.

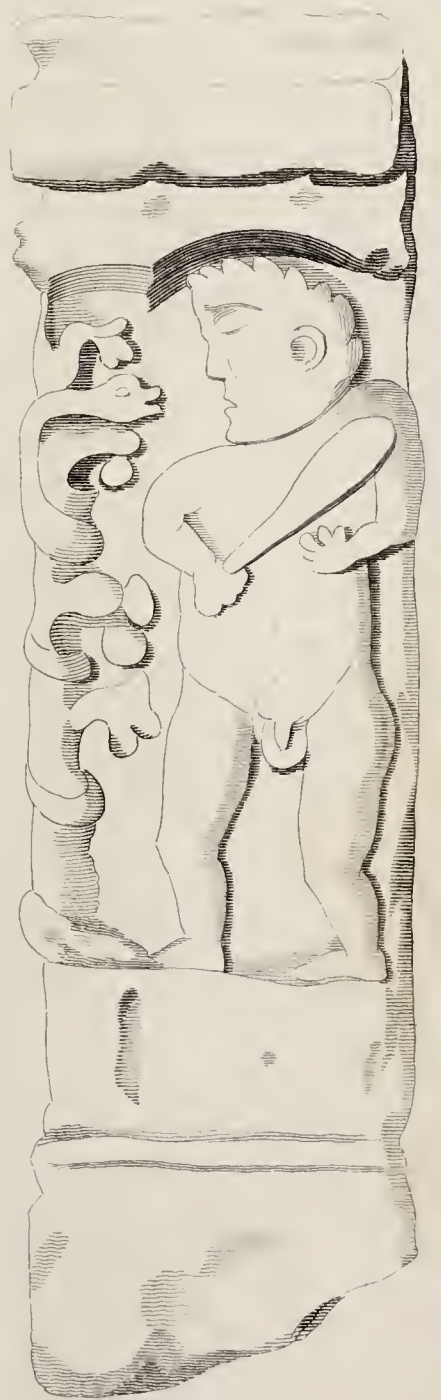
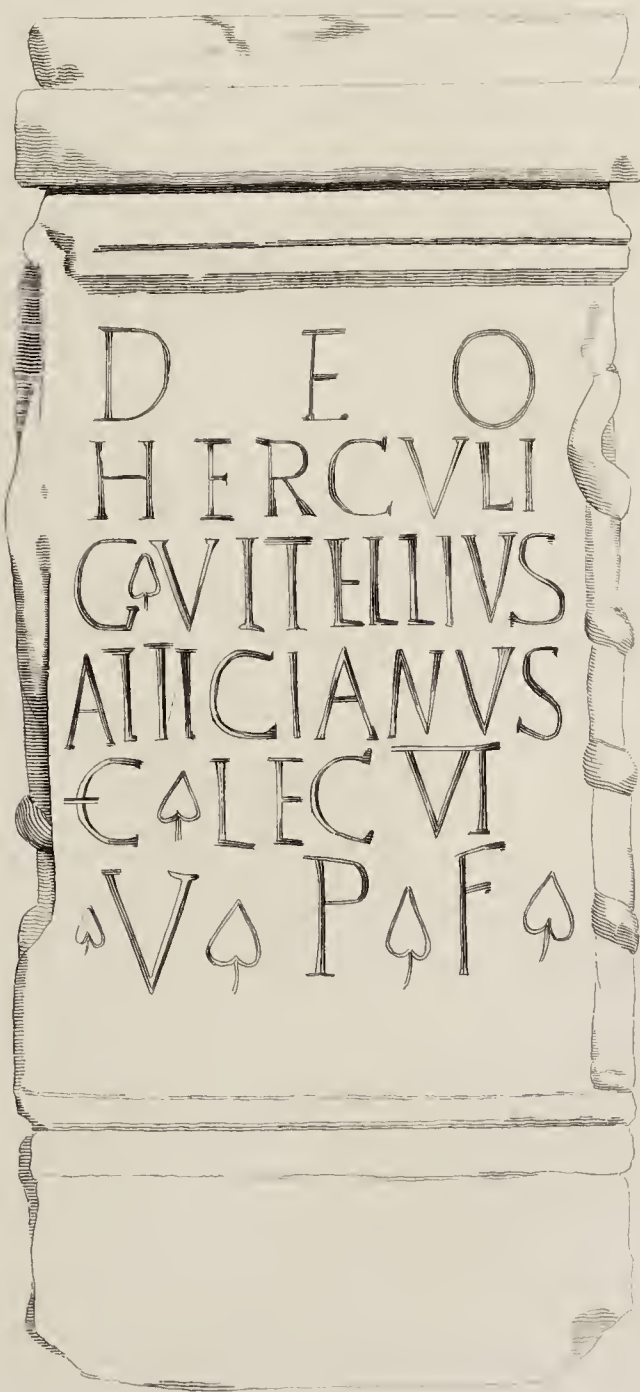
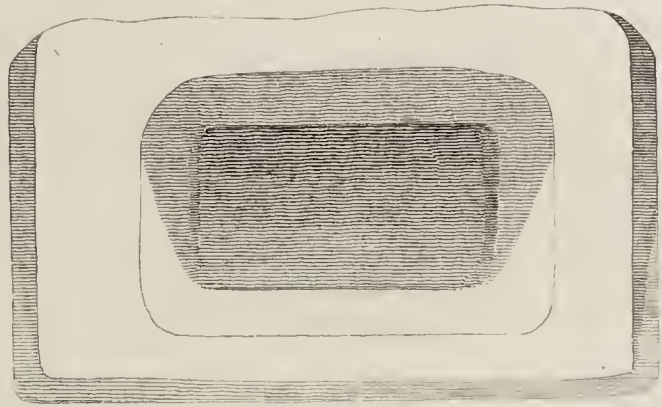
The fragment of a hand grasping a club is on the table, and belongs to a statue of Hercules found with the altar; the head and body were broken to pieces in digging up, and the feet only, with this hand, have been preserved, and brought to London,

I have the honor to remain,

Your Lordship's very humble servant,

S. WESTON.

Edward Street, Portman Square,
June 16, 1812.



Roman Altar found in Cumberland.

XXVIII. *A Description, and Copy, of an ancient Roll, preserved in the Library of The Advocates, at Edinburgh. In a Letter addressed to The Earl of Aberdeen, President of The Society of Antiquaries, by Nicholas Carlisle, Esq., Secretary.*

Read 25th November, 1813.

MY LORD,

Somerset Place, 25th October, 1813.

IN the valuable Library of the Advocates, at Edinburgh, is an ancient Roll, which is known by the title of BAGIMONT'S ROLL. It is holden in great estimation, and is often referred to, by the Scottish Statutes, under the style of "*The Auld Taxation*" of Bagimont, as an adequate measure of the true value of Ecclesiastical Benefices. By the kindness of Mr. NAPIER, the Librarian, I lately obtained an authentic copy of it; and which, from its great worth and curiosity, may not be an improper subject to lay before The Society of Antiquaries.

To the account which BISSET gives of this instrument, I may add, the testimony of The Commissioners of Public Records, who, in speaking of a copy among the *Harleian* Manuscripts, observe, that "it was compiled about the same time with that taxation which was made of the lands of England, by King Edward the First."^a

It will be recollected, that, since the abolition of Episcopacy in Scotland, the appellations of Rectory or of Vicarage have ceased to be applied to the several Benefices.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obliged, and very obedient servant,

NICHOLAS CARLISLE.

^a Report on the Public Records, p. 76. folio, 1812

Bagimont's Taxt Roll of Benefices within the Kingdom of Scotland.

From Habakuk Bisset's Rolment of Courtis. Ad. Lib. Edin.

BAGIMONT his Taxt Roll of Benefices within the kingdome of Scotlande, &c., quhairunto the actis of parliament is relative. Jacobus 3. parl. 6. act 44. A. D. ane thowsand foure hundreth thriescoir ellevin. Specifiand to be contened in the provincialis buik, The auld taxt roll of Bagimont, as the samyn beiris. Quhilk act is ratified and confirmed be Jacobus 4. parl. 4. act 39. the zeire of god ane thowsand four hundreth fourescoir and threttene zeiris, and this extract following wes fund be the provinciall of the quhite or carmelat freiris of Abirdene, called dene Johne Christesone, the principall provynciall of the said freiris and of Scotland for the tyme, and wes dowbled or copied be ane chaiplane of auld Abirdene, called doctoure Roust. And, because the samyn taxt roll is nocht to be fundin in na autentik register within this realme presently, be resson of the distruction of all sic provinciall places and registeris at the reformation of religioun, and ciuile warris arrysing thairvpon within this kingdom, Thairfoir I haue thocht guid autenticlie to register the samyn in this rolment, for the better information of the godlie reidaris, &c.

This Bagimont wes ane cardinale and legat send be the Bischope of rome or paip Johnne. 22. alias 23. To mak and reporte to him ane taxt roll of the rentallis of all benefices and tent pennies thairof, in quhatsumeuer kingdomes, realmes, and natiouns subiect to his apostolick jurisdiction [as he alleged], to his vse conforme to the canoun law in the extravagant. susceptir egiminis. lib. 6., vid. de significatione verborum Skene. Paip Johnne 22. alias 23. anno pont. 2. tit. 3. Anno dñi. 1412. And sua his cumming in Scotland appeiris nocht to haue bene in king James the thrid his tyme, bot lang of befoir, seing the actis of parliament foirsaid, callis it the auld taxt roll of Bagimont, and appeiris to haue benethe sext zeir of the gouvernement

of Robert erle of fyff anno dñi. 1406. paip Joⁿ 22. ats 23. wes paip bot 5 zeiris and was deposed at the counsall at Constance Anno dñi. 1416. beand elected paip in anno dñi 1410. and the 209 paip in Numer.^b

The Inscription of Bagimont his Taxt Roll.

TAXATIO BENEFICIORUM PRETER PRELACIAS SCOTIÆ IN DECIMA
PARTE EARUNDEM.

DECANATUS DE FRYFE.

Archidicanatus Sanctiandree	-	-	-	-	xi lib
Prepositura de Craill	-	-	-	-	vij lib
Vicaria de Kylrynie	-	-	-	-	iiij lib
Vicaria de Carnbic	-	-	-	-	liij š iiij d

^b BISSET appears to be completely mistaken in his account, when he dates the coming of BAGIMONT into Scotland in "the sixth zeir of the gouvernement of Robert erle of Fyff, A.D. 1406." For, Lord HAILES, on the authority of Fordun (*b. x. p. 35*), makes BAGIMONT's mission into Scotland to be in the year 1275; and says, "*Benemundus de Vicci*, vulgarly called *Bagimont*, was employed by the Pope to collect the tenth of all Ecclesiastical benefices in Scotland, for the relief of the Holy Land; it was paid by all the clergy, except the *Cisterians*, upon oath, and even under the terrors of excommunication. The Cisterian order had compounded with the Pope, by granting a general aid of 50,000 marks; and thus the amount of their revenues throughout Europe remained unknown." *Dalrymple's Annals of Scotland*, vol. I. p. 199. edit. 1797, 8vo. KETH in his Catalogue, p. 13, states BAGIMONT to have come into Scotland in the time of WILLIAM WISEHEART, alias WISHART, who was Bishop of St. Andrew's in 1273. And, in the Calendars of ancient Charters, p. 336, he is called "*Benumundus de Vicic* (probably *Vicci*), *Canonicus Astensis*." PINKERTON, in his History of Scotland, vol. I. 4to. p. 276, note, says, that LESLEY, p. 356, ridiculously dates the Taxation of Bagimont in 1512, instead of 1275.

According to Mr. CHALMERS, the real name of this Legate was BAYAMOND, and that he held an Ecclesiastical Council at Perth; when the whole Clergy agreed to pay the Tenth of their Benefices. In that age, however, the Clergy felt the oppression of paying truly *one Tenth* of their real incomes: and, they induced BAYAMOND to repair to Rome, in order to solicit some abatement of that burdensome imposition. But, BAYAMOND, without making any impression upon the accustomed avarice of the Papal Court, returned into Scotland, where his efforts were ineffectual in collecting the Tax, but where he ultimately found a grave. *Caledonia*, vol. I. p. 688.

Vicaria de Kynochce	-	-	-	-	-	vij liß
Vicaria de Largo	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liß
Vicaria de Skone	-	-	-	-	-	v ti vj š viii ð
Vicaria de Kynnochie	-	-	-	-	-	iiij ti vj š viij ð
Rectoria de Methill	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liß
Rectoria de Terbett	-	-	-	-	-	v ti vj š viij ð
Rectoria de Kembak	-	-	-	-	-	v ti vj š viij ð
Dynnynoch	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liß
Vicaria Sanctiandree	-	-	-	-	-	xiiij t vj š viij ð
Vicaria de Lucheris	-	-	-	-	-	vi liß xiiij š iiij ð
Vicaria de Forgrund	-	-	-	-	-	iiij. ti vj š viij ð
Vicaria de Kylmanie	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liß
Vicaria de Flisk	-	-	-	-	-	x liß
Vicaria de Cullessie	-	-	-	-	-	liij š iiij ð
Vicaria de Monymaill	-	-	-	-	-	liij š iiij ð
Vicaria de Cowper	-	-	-	-	-	lvj š viij ð
Vicaria de Markynche	-	-	-	-	-	v ti vj š viij ð
Rectoria [Vicaria] de Dysert	-	-	-	-	-	xiiij ti vj š viij ð
Vicaria de Kirkcaldie	-	-	-	-	-	v ti vij š viij ð
Vicaria de Kylgoure	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liß
Vicaria de Kingorne eister	-	-	-	-	-	vj ti xiiij š iiij ð
Auchtermuhtie	-	-	-	-	-	liij š iiij ð
Lawthrisk	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liß
Rectoria de Qyltis	-	-	-	-	-	vj liß xiiij š iiij ð
Prepositura S ^{ti} marie de Fyff	-	-	-	-	-	xvj liß
Prioratus de Portmook	-	-	-	-	-	x ti xiiij š iiij ð
Ministratus de Scotland well	-	-	-	-	-	ix ti iiij š viij ð

Sūma Decanatus de fyfe

ij^c xxiiij liß.

FOTHERIK.

Vicaria de Ochtirdira	-	-	-	-	-	x liß
Vicaria de Balingard	-	-	-	-	-	vij liß

Sacrista de Dumfermling	-	-	-	-	xij li	vj s	iiij d
Rectoria de Mukart	-	-	-	-	vj li	xij s	iiij d
Sūma Decanatus de							
ffothrik	-	-	-	-	xxxviij	li	li

GOWRIE.

Rectoria de Dumbarnie	-	-	-	-	xij li		
Vicaria de Dumbernie	-	-	-	-	liij s	iiij d	
Rectoria de Kynnowll	-	-	-	-	x li	xij s	iiij d
Vicaria de Langforgound	-	-	-	-	iiij li	vj s	viiij d
Prepositura de Methveñ	-	-	-	-	xvj li		
Rectoria de Forteviot	-	-	-	-	xij li		
Rectoria de Collace	-	-	-	-	iiij li		
Rectoria de Loncardie	-	-	-	-	iiij li		

Sūma Decanatus de Gowrie

Lxviij. li. vj s viij d

ANGUSIE.

Rectoria de Nevay	-	-	-	-	iiij li		
Rectoria de Essie	-	-	-	-	v li	vj s	viiij d
Vicaria de Lyntrethin	-	-	-	-	iiij li		
Vicaria de Kylliemure	-	-	-	-	vj li	xij s	iiij d
Vicaria de Glāmise	-	-	-	-	v li	vj s	viiij d
Rectoria de Kynnettillis	-	-	-	-	vj li	xij s	iiij d
Rectoria de Inueraretie	-	-	-	-	viiij li		
Rectoria de Tannadyse	-	-	-	-	xij li	vj s	viiij d
Rectoria de Edzell	-	-	-	-	vj li	xij s	iiij d
Rectoria de Dunloppie	-	-	-	-	iiij li		
Rectoria de Logy montrose	-	-	-	-	viiij li		
Vicaria de Tannadyse	-	-	-	-	liij s	iiij d	
Rectoria de Inchboyak	-	-	-	-	xij li	vj s	viiij d
Vicaria de Innerkelrure	-	-	-	-	iiij li	vj s	viiij d
Vicaria de Murehouse	-	-	-	-	liij s	iiij d	

Rectoria de Evie	-	-	-	-	-	viiij liḃ
Rectoria de Kynell	-	-	-	-	-	viiij liḃ
Vicaria de Abirillet	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liḃ vj ṡ viij ḃ

Sūma Decanatus Angusie

j C xiiij liḃ vj ṡ viij ḃ

MERNIS.

Rectoria de Fetteresso	-	-	-	-	-	xx liḃ
Rectoria de Arbutynet	-	-	-	-	-	xiiij liḃ vj ṡ viij ḃ
Rectoria de Benholme	-	-	-	-	-	x liḃ
Vicaria de Eglisgreg	-	-	-	-	-	liij ṡ iiij ḃ
Rectoria de Nellodask	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liḃ vj ṡ viij ḃ
Rectoria de Fettircarne	-	-	-	-	-	xiiij liḃ vj ṡ viij ḃ
Rectoria de Convuth	-	-	-	-	-	xiiij liḃ vj ṡ viij ḃ
Vicaria de Forgown	-	-	-	-	-	v liḃ
Rectoria de Durris	-	-	-	-	-	v liḃ vj ṡ viij ḃ

Sūma Decanatus de Mernis

Lxxxvj liḃ vj ṡ viij ḃ

LYNLYCHQUHCW.

Vicaria de Streuilling	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liḃ
Rectoria de Slāmanan	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liḃ
[Rectoria] Vicaria de ffawkirk	-	-	-	-	-	xij liḃ
Vicaria de Lynlithgw	-	-	-	-	-	v liḃ
Vicaria de Levingstouñ	-	-	-	-	-	liij ṡ iiij ḃ
Rectoria de Strabrok	-	-	-	-	-	x liḃ
Rectoria de Inchmauchlene	-	-	-	-	-	vj ti xiiij ṡ iiij ḃ
Rectoria de Calder	-	-	-	-	-	x liḃ xiiij ṡ iiij ḃ
Rectoria de Kirknewtouñ	-	-	-	-	-	v liḃ vj ṡ viij ḃ
Prepositura de Corstorhin	-	-	-	-	-	v liḃ vj ṡ viij ḃ
Rectoria de Gogar	-	-	-	-	-	v liḃ vj ṡ viij ḃ
Vicaria S ^{ij} Cuthbertj	-	-	-	-	-	v liḃ vj ṡ viij ḃ
Rectoria de Pentland	-	-	-	-	-	v liḃ vj ṡ viij ḃ
Rectoria de Pennycuik	-	-	-	-	-	viiij liḃ

Rectoria de Lesswaid	-	-	-	-	-	xx liß
Rectoria de Mailuile	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liß
Vicaria de Dūmany	-	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiij d
Rectoria de Restalrig	-	-	-	-	-	xx liß
Prepositura Beatj Egidij de Edinburgh	-	-	-	-	-	xvj liß
Archideocanatus de Lowthiane	-	-	-	-	-	xx liß
Prepositura Sancte Trinitatis cum vicaria de						
Veymis	-	-	-	-	-	xij liß
Preceptoria S ^g Anthonij de Leith	-	-	-	-	-	vj liß xiiij ſ iiij d
Vicaria de Leswaid	-	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiij d
Sūma Decanatus de						
Lynlythgw	-	-	-	-	-	jC lxxxxiiij ti xiiij ſ iiij d

HADINGTOŨN.

Rectoria de Tynīghame	-	-	-	-	-	x ti xiiij ſ iiij d
Vicaria de Innerveik	-	-	-	-	-	iiij ti vj ſ viij d
Vicaria de Tranent	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liß
Vicaria de Gullañ	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liß
Prepositura de Seytouñ	-	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiij d
Vicaria de Pencaithland	-	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiij d
Vicaria de Hadingtouñ	-	-	-	-	-	v tiß vj ſ viij d
Vicaria de Kerrington	-	-	-	-	-	v ti vj ſ viij d
Prepositura de Crichtouñ	-	-	-	-	-	x liß
Prepositura de Dalkeith	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liß vj ſ viij d
Decanatus de Dunbar	-	-	-	-	-	xiiij liß vj ſ viij d
Rectoria de Keith Merschell	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liß
Rectoria de Fawley	-	-	-	-	-	vj liß xiiij ſ viij d
Preceptoria de Bothans	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liß
Rectoria de Lyntouñ	-	-	-	-	-	xx liß
Rectoria de Aldhamstokis	-	-	-	-	-	xij liß
Rectoria de Dumbar	-	-	-	-	-	v liß xiiij ſ iiij d
Archipbratus de Dumbar	-	-	-	-	-	viij liß
Prebendarius de Pyncartouñ	-	-	-	-	-	v liß vj ſ viij d

Rectoria de Moram	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liþ
Rectoria de Pettokis	-	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiij d
Rectoria de Beytoun	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liþ
Rectoria de Spott	-	-	-	-	-	v liþ vj ſ viij d
Vicaria de Muskilburgh	-	-	-	-	-	v liþ vj ſ viij d
Vicaria de Canstoun	-	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiij d
Prepositura de Dunglas	-	-	-	-	-	v liþ vj ſ viij d
Ministratus						
Magestratus de Houstoun						

Sūma Decanatus de Hadingtoun

jC lxviii liþ xiiij ſ iiij d

MERSE.

Vicaria de Grenelaw	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liþ vj ſ viij d
Rectoria de Vpsadingtoun	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liþ
Rectoria de Quhytstoun	-	-	-	-	-	vj liþ xiiij ſ iiij d
Vicaria de Essiltoun	-	-	-	-	-	v liþ vj ſ viij d
Rectoria de Duncce	-	-	-	-	-	x liþ
Rectoria de Elleñ	-	-	-	s	-	v liþ vj ſ viij d
Rectoria de Polwart	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liþ
Rectoria de Cranschevis	-	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiij d
Rectoria de Chirneside	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liþ
Rectoria de Fowldeñ	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liþ
Priorissatus de S ^u Bothanis	-	-	-	-	-	iiij ti vj ſ viij d

Sūma Decanatus de Merse

liij liþ xiiij ſ iiij d

Sūma Decimarum Beneficiorum

Sanctj Andree diocesios

ixC xliij liþ

GLASGUEN DIOCESIS

CAPITULUM GLASGUEN.

Decanatus	-	-	-	-	-	xxvj liþ xiiij ſ iiij d
Preceptoria	-	-	-	-	-	xvj liþ

Cancellaria	-	-	-	-	-	xvj liþ
Thesauraria	-	-	-	-	-	xvj liþ
Archidiocanatus	-	-	-	-	-	xxvj liþ xiiij ſ iiij d
Subdeconatus	-	-	-	-	-	xxvj liþ xiiij ſ iiij d
Rectoria de Glasgw	-	-	-	-	-	xxvj liþ xiiij ſ iiij d
Rectoria de Air	-	-	-	-	-	xxvj liþ xiiij ſ iiij d
Rectoria de Renfrew	-	-	-	-	-	x ti xiiij ſ iiij d
Rectoria de Govañ	-	-	-	-	-	x ti xiiij ſ iiij d
Rectoria de Carstairs	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liþ
Rectoria de Cardrois	-	-	-	-	-	vj ti xiiij ſ iiij d
Glasgw secunde	-	-	-	-	-	vj ti vj ſ viij d
Rectoria de Mwffett	-	-	-	-	-	x liþ
Rectoria de Erskin	-	-	-	-	-	viiij liþ
Rectoria de Erskirk	-	-	-	-	-	v liþ
Rectoria de auld Roxburgh	-	-	-	-	-	xij liþ
Rectoria de Merbottill	-	-	-	-	-	x liþ xiiij ſ viij d
Barlangrig	-	-	-	-	-	viiij liþ
Rectoria de Ankrvm	-	-	-	-	-	vj ti xiiij ſ iiij d
Rectoria de Edilstouñ	-	-	-	-	-	xiiij ti vj ſ viij d
Rectoria de Eglishame	-	-	-	-	-	x ti xiiij ſ iiij d
Rectoria de Kyllweñ	-	-	-	-	-	x ti xiiij ſ iiij d
Rectoria de Dowglase	-	-	-	-	-	xiiij ti vj ſ viij d
Rectoria de Cambuslaing	-	-	-	-	-	vj ti vj ſ viij d
Rectoria de Torboltoñ	-	-	-	-	-	xvj liþ
Rectoria de Sanquhair	-	-	-	-	-	x liþ
Rectoria de Kirkmaho	-	-	-	-	-	xvj liþ
Rectoria de Shīnik Cūnok	-	-	-	-	-	xvj liþ
Rectoria de Durisdeir	-	-	-	-	-	viiij liþ
Rectoria de Luse	-	-	-	-	-	xvj liþ
Rectoria de Stobo	-	-	-	-	-	xxvj ti xiiij ſ iiij d
Eccleie cōmunes Capitulj Glasgueñ	-	-	-	-	-	xxxvj ti xiiij ſ iiij d
Sūma Capitulj cum Ecclecijs						
cōmynibus						iiij C lxxvj liþ xiiij ſ 4 d

EXTRA ECCLIAM GLASGUEN.

IN DECANATU DE PEBLIS.

Vicaria de Peblis	-	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiiij d
Vicaria de Inuirletham	-	-	-	-	-	vj liſ xiiij ſ iiiij d
Rectoria cum vicaria de Kylbotho	-	-	-	-	-	viiij liſ
Rectoria de Forresta	-	-	-	-	-	xiiij liſ vj ſ viiiij d
Rectoria cum Vicaria de Forcelyne	-	-	-	-	-	v liſ xiiij ſ iiiij d
Rectoria de Kirkboyde	-	-	-	-	-	v liſ. vj ſ viiiij d
Vicaria de Kirkboyde	-	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiiij d
Vicaria de Lyntouñ	-	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiiij d
Rectoria de Newlandis	-	-	-	-	-	xvj liſ
Rectoria de Lyne	-	-	-	-	-	iiiij liſ
Vicaria de Stobo	-	-	-	-	-	vj liſ xiiij ſ iiiij d
Rectoria de Glenquhome	-	-	-	-	-	iiiij liſ

Sūma Decimarum huius Deca-

natus de Peblis - - lxxxj liſ vj ſ viiiij d

IN DECANATU DE TEVEDAILL.

Rectoria de Haveik	-	-	-	-	-	xvj liſ
Rectoria de Wiltouñ	-	-	-	-	-	v liſ. vj ſ viiiij d
Rectoria de Dennato	-	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiiij d
Vicaria de Lindeñ	-	-	-	-	-	iiiij liſ
Vicaria de Bowdeñ	-	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiiij d
Vicaria de Maxtouñ	-	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiiij d
Rectoria de Lempetlaw	-	-	-	-	-	iiiij liſ
Rectoria de Zethame	-	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiiij d
Rectoria de Lyntouñ	-	-	-	-	-	iiiij liſ
Rectoria de Home	-	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiiij d
Vicaria de Ekfurde	-	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiiij d
Rectoria de Sowden	-	-	-	-	-	iiiij liſ
Rectoria de Abatrowll	-	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiiij d
Vicaria de Glassiltouñ	-	-	-	-	-	iiiij liſ

Rectoria cum Vicaria de Eddiltouñ	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiiij d
Rectoria de Badrowll	-	-	-	-	iiiij liḡ
Sūma Decimarum Decanatus					
Tevidalie	-	-	-	-	lxxvj liḡ xiiij ſ iiiij d

IN DECANATU DE WYCHT.

Prepositura de Lyncludeñ	-	-	-	-	xl liḡ
Vicaria de Carlauerok	-	-	-	-	iiiij liḡ vj ſ viij d
Vicaria de Kirkblane	-	-	-	-	x liḡ
Rectoria de Sowthik	-	-	-	-	v ti vj ſ viij d
Vicaria de Cobeñ	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiiij d
Rectoria de Kirkguyeñ	-	-	-	-	viij liḡ
Vicaria de Vr	-	-	-	-	v liḡ vj ſ viij d
Vicaria de Lochryntouñ	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiiij d
Vicaria de Terreglis	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiiij d
Vicaria de Trakwair	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiiij d
Rectoria de Kirkpatrik Iron gray	-	-	-	-	v liḡ vj ſ viij d
Vicaria de Drumfreis	-	-	-	-	iiiij liḡ
Vicaria de Tertouñ	-	-	-	-	iiij ti vi ſ 8 d
Vicaria de Dunscoir	-	-	-	-	iiiij liḡ
Vicaria de Penpont	-	-	-	-	v ti vj ſ viij d
Rectoria de Kirkbryd	-	-	-	-	vj ti xiiij ſ iiiij d
Vicaria de Kirkconnell	-	-	-	-	v tiḡ vj ſ viij d
Rectoria de Tynwald	-	-	-	-	vj liḡ xiiij ſ iij d
Rectoria de Kirkinhaill	-	-	-	-	iiiij liḡ
Rectoria de Garwald	-	-	-	-	iiiij liḡ
Vicaria de Kirkpatrik duransz	-	-	-	-	iiij liḡ

Sūma Decimarum Decanatus

de Wycht - - jCxxxiiij liḡ vj ſ vii d

IN DECANATU ANNANDIE.

Rectoria de Annand	-	-	-	-	iiiij liḡ
Rectoria de Kirkpatrik Juxta	-	-	-	-	iiiij liḡ

Rectoria de Johnnestoun	-	-	-	-	liij š iiij d
Rectoria de Vamphray	-	-	-	-	liij š iiij d
Rectoria de Apilgirth	-	-	-	-	v liḡ vj š viij d
Rectoria de Lochmaben	-	-	-	-	v liḡ. vj š viij d
Rectoria de Robell	-	-	-	-	iiij liḡ
Prioratus de Cannaby	-	-	-	-	vj liḡ xiiij š iiij d
Sūma Decimarum Decanatus					
Annandie	-	-	-	-	xxxiiij liḡ xiiij š iiij d

IN DECANATU DE RUGLYN.

Prepositura de Bothwell	-	-	-	-	xx liḡ
Prioratus de Blantyre	-	-	-	-	vj liḡ xiiij š iiij d
Rectoria de Strathaven	-	-	-	-	xxj liḡ vj š viij d
Diuideñ inter prebendis de Bothwell					
Rectoria de glasfurd	-	-	-	-	v liḡ vj š viij d
Vicaria de Cūneis	-	-	-	-	iiij liḡ
Vicaria de Carkert	-	-	-	-	liij š iiij d
Vicaria de Eistwode	-	-	-	-	liij š iiij d
Vicaria de Kilbretouñ	-	-	-	-	iiij liḡ
Vicaria de Killimañ	-	-	-	-	liij š iiij d
Vicaria de Kilmacolme	-	-	-	-	v liḡ vj š viij d
Vicaria de Innerkip	-	-	-	-	iiij liḡ
Vicaria de Erskin	-	-	-	-	liij š iiij d
Vicaria de Calder et Mounteland	-	-	-	-	v liḡ vj š viij d
Prepositura de Hāmiltouñ	-	-	-	-	iiij liḡ
Sūma Decimarum Decanatus					
de Ruglyñ	-	-	-	-	lxxxx liḡ xiiij š iiij d

IN DECANATU DE LENNOX.

Prepositura de Dunbertouñ	-	-	-	-	xxxij liḡ
Vicaria de Kirkpatrik	-	-	-	-	v li vj š viij d
Rectoria de Inchecalzeoch	-	-	-	-	liij š iiij d

Rectoria de Bethernok	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiiij d
Vicaria de Kirkintullo	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiiij d
Rectoria de Monyabroch	-	-	-	-	v ti vj ſ viij d
Sūma Decimarum Decanatus					
de Lennox	-	-	-	-	l liḃ. xiiij ſ. iiiij d

IN DECANATU DE LANERK.

Rectoria de Craufurdjohnne	-	-	-	-	x liḃ xiiij ſ iiiij d
Rectoria de Culter	-	-	-	-	viiij liḃ
Rectoria de Begar	-	-	-	-	vj liḃ xiiij ſ iiiij d
Rectoria de Stanehouse diuideñ inter					
Stallandas de Bothwell	-	-	-	-	v ti vj ſ viij d
Rectoria de Hartsyde	-	-	-	-	vj ti xiiij ſ iiiij d
Rectoria de Balmingtoun	-	-	-	-	vj liḃ xiiij ſ iiiij d
Rectoria de Libertoun	-	-	-	-	x liḃ
Rectoria de Kirkquhañ	-	-	-	-	vj liḃ xiiij ſ iiiij d
Vicaria de Wailstoun	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiiij d
Vicaria de Symontoun	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiiij d
Vicaria de Wistoun	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiiij d
Vicaria de Robertoun	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiiij d
Vicaria de Carmichell	-	-	-	-	iiiij liḃ
Rectoria de Covingtoun	-	-	-	-	iiiij liḃ
Rectoria de Thankertoun	-	-	-	-	iiiij liḃ
Rectoria de Delphintoun	-	-	-	-	iiiij liḃ
Vicaria de Carstairis	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiiij d
Sūma Decimarum Decanatus					
de Lanerk	-	-	-	-	lxxxx liḃ

IN DECANATU DE KYILL ET CWNYNGHAME.

Vicaria de Stevintonn	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiiij d
Vicaria de Kylboyis	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiiij d
Vicaria de Daky	-	-	-	-	vj liḃ xiiij ſ iiiij d

Sūma Decimarum Decanatus

liij liḡ vj š viij đ

Prepositura de Mayboill	-	-	-	-	iiij liß
Vicaria de Mayboill	-	-	-	-	v liß vj š viij d
Vicaria de kirkmichell	-	-	-	-	ii liß vj š viii d
Vicaria de Strattouñ	-	-	-	-	iiij liß
Vicaria de Inuertig	-	-	-	-	liij š iiij d
Vicaria de Graven	-	-	-	-	liij š iiij d
Vicaria de Colmanell	-	-	-	-	iiij liß

Sūma Decimarum Decanatus

de Carrik - - - - xxvj liß

Sūma totalis Decimarum

Decanatus Glasgueñ

jM lxxxxv liṭ viṣ viij d

DUNKELDEN DIOCESES

CAPITULUM ECCLEŒIE DUNKELDĒN.

[illegible]

Cancellaria	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	vj liḡ xiiij ṡ iiij đ
Thesauraria	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	vj liḡ xiiij ṡ iiij đ
Archideconatus	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	xiiij liḡ xiiij ṡ iiij đ
Succentoria	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liḡ
Rongart	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	v liḡ vj ṡ iiij đ
Capetter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	liij ṡ iiij đ
Subdecanatus	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	liij ṡ iiij đ
Monethie	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	liij ṡ iiij đ
Creif distribueñ	inter omnes ejusdem pre-							
bendarias	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	xij liḡ
Menmvre	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x liḡ
Forgwn downy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liḡ x ṡ
Mewcarsee	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	v liḡ vj ṡ viij đ
Farne	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	v liḡ vj ṡ viij đ
Lundaff	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liḡ
Alyt	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liḡ
Abirleddy ^a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

ECCLESIE COMMUNES CAPITULI DE DUNKELDEÑ.

Ochtirhouse	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	viij liḡ
Megill	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	viij liḡ
Sangling	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	v liḡ vj ṡ viij đ
Foddergill	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	vj liḡ xiiij ṡ iiij đ
Sūma Decimarum Capituli cum Ecclesiis								
communibus Dunkeldeñ	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	jC lx liḡ vj ṡ viij đ

BENEFICIA EXTRA ECCLESIAM DUNKELDEÑ.

Prioratus de Staphillañ	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	vj liḡ viij ṡ iiij đ
Rectoria de Blair	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liḡ
Rectoria de Rannochie	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	xxxiiij ṡ iiij đ

^a Nota in Eist Louthian. “ And likewise the bishopprie of Dunkeld is diuyded fra the bishopsis seat thair of, viz. Thir fyve kirkis as followis, viz. In West Louthiane Abircorne, and in Eist Louthiane Aberlady, &c. &c.

Vicaria de Dow	-	-	-	-	-	v liḡ
Vicaria de Cluny	-	-	-	-	-	liij ṡ iiij đ
Vicaria de Auchtirgaan	-	-	-	-	-	liij ṡ iiij đ
Vicaria de Tibbermvre	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liḡ
Vicaria de Cargill	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liḡ
Vicaria de Manmvre	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liḡ
Vicaria de Megleñ	-	-	-	-	-	liij ṡ iiij đ
Vicaria de Melginche	-	-	-	-	-	liij ṡ iiij đ
Vicaria de Straithmeglo	-	-	-	-	-	v liḡ
Vicaria de Crawmond in West Lothiane	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liḡ
Vicaria de Abircorne ibidem	-	-	-	-	-	liij ṡ iiij đ
Vicaria de Saulyne	-	-	-	-	-	liij ṡ iiij đ
Vicaria de Teling	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liḡ

Sūma Decimarum Beneficiorum

extra Ecciam Dunkeldeñ lviiij liḡ vjṡ viij đ

Sūma totalis Decimarum Beneficiorum

Dunkeldeñ Ecclesie et Diocesis

ijC xviiij liḡ xiiij ṡ iiij đ

ABIRDONE~N DIOCESIS.

CAPITULUM ABIRDONE~N

Decanatus	-	-	-	-	-	-	xxiiij liḡ
Precentoria	-	-	-	-	-	-	viiij liḡ
Cancellaria	-	-	-	-	-	-	ix liḡ vjṡ viij đ
Thesauraria	-	-	-	-	-	-	viiij liḡ
Archidecanatus	-	-	-	-	-	-	xiiij liḡ vjṡ viij đ
Kynkell	-	-	-	-	-	-	xl liḡ
Kyncardeñ	-	-	-	-	-	-	xxvj liḡ xiiij ṡ iiij đ
Oyne ^a	-	-	-	-	-	-	viiij liḡ
Banchorie	-	-	-	-	-	-	viiij liḡ
Balhelwie	-	-	-	-	-	-	ix liḡ vjṡ viij đ
Monymusk	-	-	-	-	-	-	x liḡ

^a Sic.

EXTRA ECCLIAM ABIRDONEŃ.

Rectoria de Auchindoir	-	-	-	-	v liḡ vj ṡ viij ḡ
Vicaria de Tarves	-	-	-	-	vj liḡ xiiij ṡ iiij ḡ
Vicaria de Petirvgý	-	-	-	-	v liḡ
Vicaria de Inuerrowrie	-	-	-	-	liij ṡ iiij ḡ
Vicaria de Logymar	-	-	-	-	liij ṡ iiij ḡ
Vicaria de Inche	-	-	-	-	liij ṡ iiij ḡ
Vicaria de Petirculter	-	-	-	-	liij ṡ iiij ḡ
Vicaria de Kyncardeñ	-	-	-	-	liij ṡ iiij ḡ
Vicaria de Banchorie	-	-	-	-	liij ṡ iiij ḡ
Vicaria de Banff	-	-	-	-	iiij liḡ vj ṡ viij ḡ
Vicaria de Sērie	-	-	-	-	liij ṡ iiij ḡ
Vicaria de Tyrie	-	-	-	-	liij ṡ iiij ḡ
Vicaria de Cowll	-	-	-	-	iiij liḡ
Vicaria de Oboyne	-	-	-	-	iiij liḡ

Vicaria de Forge	-	-	-	-	-	liii s. iiij d
Vicaria de Drumglay	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liß
Sūma Decimarum extra Eccliam						
Abirdoneñ	-	-	-	-	-	lvj liß vj s viij d
Sūma totalis Decimarum						
Abirdonensis Diocesis						
iijC lj liß viij s iiij d						

MORAUIE~N DIOCESIS.

CAPITULJ ECCLIE MORAUEN.

Decanatus	-	-	-	-	-	-	xxj liß vj s viij d
Precentoria	-	-	-	-	-	-	xxj liß vj s viij d
Cancellaria	-	-	-	-	-	-	xxj liß vj s viij d
Thesauraria	-	-	-	-	-	-	x liß
Archidiaconatus	-	-	-	-	-	-	xvj liß
Subdecanatus	-	-	-	-	-	-	x liß
Subcentoria	-	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liß
Dupill	-	-	-	-	-	-	v liß vj s viij d
Duffus	-	-	-	-	-	-	x liß
Spynie	-	-	-	-	-	-	vj liß xiiij s iiij d
Croy	-	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liß
Moy	-	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liß
Bottary	-	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liß
Ryny	-	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liß
Abirloure	-	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liß vj s viij d
Kynnoir	-	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liß
Vicaria de Elgin	-	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liß vj s viij d
Pettie	-	-	-	-	-	-	vj liß xiiij s iiij d
Kynguse	-	-	-	-	-	-	vj liß xiiij s iiij d
Ducall	-	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liß
Adnell et Crvdell	-	-	-	-	-	-	liij s iiij d

Sūma Decimarum Capitj Morauiēñ

jC lx liß vj s viij d

EXTRA ECCLIAM MORAUEN

Vicaria de Inuernese	-	-	-	-	-	v liß
Vicaria de Abirchudoure	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liß
Vicaria de Duffus	-	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiij d
Rectoria de Lundichtie	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liß vj ſ viij d
Rectoria de Rothas	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liß
Vicaria de Gartlie	-	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiij d
Sūma Decimarum Morauiē diocesis						
extra Ecciam		-	-	-	xxj liß	xiiij ſ iiij d
Sūma totalis jC lxxxxij liß						

ROSSEN~ DIOCESIS.

Decanatus	-	-	-	-	-	-	viij liß
Precentoria	-	-	-	-	-	-	vj liß xiiij ſ iiij d
Cancellaria	-	-	-	-	-	-	viij liß
Thesauraria	-	-	-	-	-	-	viij liß
Subdecanatus	-	-	-	-	-	-	xij liß
Rosseñ	-	-	-	-	-	-	viij liß
Kylcarne	-	-	-	-	-	-	v liß vj ſ viij d
Logy	-	-	-	-	-	-	v liß vj ſ viij d
Kylemvre	-	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liß
Kylmichell	-	-	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiij d
Kynnolair	-	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liß vj ſ viij d
Cullycuthny	-	-	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiij d
Cotam	-	-	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiij d
Subcentoria	-	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liß
Kyntaill	-	-	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiij d
Kyncarne	-	-	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiij d
Archidecanatus	-	-	-	-	-	-	viij liß
Dingwell	-	-	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiij d
Prepositura de Tayne	-	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liß

Sūma Capli cum prepositura de

Tayne in decimis Rosseñ - - - jC liß xiiij ſ iiij d

CANDIDE CASE DIOCESIS AL'S
QUHYTHORNE IN GALLOWAY.

In Ecciam et extra Ecciam Candide case
alias Quhythorne in Galloway, &c.

Archidecanatus	-	-	-	-	-	-	xvj liḃ
Kirkmure	-	-	-	-	-	-	xxvj liḃ xiiij ſ iiij d
Vigtouñ	-	-	-	-	-	-	xiiij liḃ vj ſ viij d
Dakie	-	-	-	-	-	-	x liḃ xiiij ſ iiij d
Partouñ	-	-	-	-	-	-	v liḃ vj ſ viij d
Stannaker	-	-	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiij d
Kirkreist	-	-	-	-	-	-	v liḃ vj ſ viij d
Vicaria de Sorbie	-	-	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiij d
Vicaria de Kirkmeddan	-	-	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiij d
Glasquhettoñ	-	-	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiij d
Vicaria de Glenquhant	-	-	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiij d
Leswart	-	-	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiij d
Vicaria de Mochrun	-	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liḃ vj ſ viii d
Vicaria de Congiltouñ	-	-	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiij d
Vicaria de Kirkmeddan in R̄ynis	-	-	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiij d
Pensionarij	-	-	-	-	-	-	x liḃ
Vicaria de Sauleseat	-	-	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiij d
Vicaria de Monygeve	-	-	-	-	-	-	v liḃ
Vicaria de Avinveth	-	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liḃ
Vicaria de Sannik	-	-	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiij d
Vicaria de Tynnan	-	-	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiij d
Rectoria de Balmachennañ	-	-	-	-	-	-	v liḃ vj ſ viij d
Rectoria de Kels	-	-	-	-	-	-	vj liḃ
Vicaria de Balmege	-	-	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiij d
Vicaria de Kirkcudbricht	-	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liḃ vj ſ viiiij d

Sūma Decimarum in Eccia et extra
Ecciam Candidecase

jC xxxj liḃ

DUNBLANEN[~] DIOCESIS INFRA ET EXTRA
ECCLESIAM, &c.

Archidecanatus	-	-	-	-	-	-	x liḡ
Decanatus	-	-	-	-	-	-	v liḡ vj ṡ viij ḡ
Cancellaria	-	-	-	-	-	-	v liḡ vj ṡ viij ḡ
Thesauraria	-	-	-	-	-	-	liij ṡ iiij ḡ
Synnandois	-	-	-	-	-	-	vj liḡ xiiij ṡ iiij ḡ
Prepositura de Abirnethie	-	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liḡ
Sex prebende de Abirnethie	-	-	-	-	-	-	xvj liḡ
Capellania de Inuerargie	-	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liḡ vj ṡ viij ḡ
Vicaria de Kippeñ	-	-	-	-	-	-	liij ṡ iiij ḡ
Mwchell	-	-	-	-	-	-	liij ṡ iiij ḡ
Rectoria de Abirquhill	-	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liḡ vj ṡ viij ḡ
Cwnry	-	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liḡ vj ṡ viij ḡ
Rectoria de Tullyallen	-	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liḡ
Vicaria de Abirruven	-	-	-	-	-	-	liij ṡ iiij ḡ
Vicaria de Kynkell	-	-	-	-	-	-	liii ṡ iiij ḡ
Vicaria de Dȳming	-	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liḡ vj ṡ viij ḡ
Vicaria de Serogeithlicht	-	-	-	-	-	-	liij ṡ iiij ḡ
Vicaria de Abirquhill	-	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liḡ.

Sūma Decimarum jnfra et extra

Ecclesiam Dunblaneñ

lxxxiiij liḡ xiiij ṡ iiij ḡ

CATHANEN[~] DIOCESIS CAPITULUM.

Decanatus	-	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liḡ
Precentoria	-	-	-	-	-	-	v liḡ vj s viij ḡ
Cancellaria	-	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liḡ
Thesauraria	-	-	-	-	-	-	liij ṡ iiij ḡ
Archideconatus	-	-	-	-	-	-	viiij liḡ
Cannesby	-	-	-	-	-	-	liij ṡ iiij ḡ

Ottrik	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiiij d
Kyntorris	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiiij d
Sūma Decimarum								
Cathaneñ diocesis	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	xxxij liḡ

BRICHINEN̄ DIOCESIS CAPITULUM.

Decanatus	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x liḡ
Precentoria	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x liḡ xiiij ſ iv d
Cancellaria	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	v liḡ vj ſ viij d
Thesauraria	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liḡ
Archidecanatus	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	vj liḡ xiiij ſ iiiij d
Brigirgill	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiiij d
Subdecanatus	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiiij d
Vicaria Magna	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	vj liḡ xiiij ſ iiiij d
Fynbone	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	vj liḡ xiiij ſ iiiij d
Glenbervie	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	vj liḡ xiiij ſ iiiij d
Lethurtt	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x liḡ

Sūma Decimarum Capitulj Brichineñ
lxxij liḡ.

EXTRA ECCLĪAM BRICHINEN̄.

Vicaria de Dundie	-	-	-	-	-	-	xiiij liḡ vj ſ viij d
Vicaria de Montrose	-	-	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiiij d
Vicaria de Panbryde	-	-	-	-	-	-	iiij liḡ
Vicaria de Kyncaldrum	-	-	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiiij d
Vicaria de Marintoñ	-	-	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiiij d
Prepositura de Guthrie	-	-	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiiij d
Vicaria de Dynnethin	-	-	-	-	-	-	liij ſ iiiij d

Sūma Decimarum extra Eccliam

Brichaneñ - - - xxx liḡ xiiij ſ iiiij d

Sūma totarum Decimarum

Brechinen diocesis - - jC. ij liḡ xiiij ſ iiiij d

LISMOREN~ DIOCESIS ALIAS THE
BISCHOPRIE OF ARGYLE.

Archatteñ prioratus	-	-	-	-	xx liß sub 9poe prelatorum
Archideconatus	-	-	-	-	vj liß vj š viij đ
Decanatus	-	-	-	-	liij š iiij đ
Precentoria	-	-	-	-	liij š iiij đ
Cancellaria	-	-	-	-	liij š iiij đ
Thesauraria	-	-	-	-	liij š iiij đ
Prepositura de Kylmenañ	-	-	-	-	iiij liß
Rectoria de Glauster	-	-	-	-	v liß vj š viij đ
Rectoria de Lochqw	-	-	-	-	liij š iiij đ
Ecclia Sanctj Martinj	-	-	-	-	liij š iiij đ

Sūma totalis Decimarum

Lismoreñ vel Argaldie

L liß xiiij š iiij đ

ORKCADEN~ DIOCESIS ALIAS CALLED THE
BISCHOPRIK OF ORKNAY, &c.

Archidecanatus Zetlandie - - - v liß vj š viij đ

Sūma totalis omnium Beneficio-
rum prescript̃ omnium Diocesi-
orum - - iij. M. ijC. lxxxxviij
liß. iij š iiij đ

XXIX. *An Account of some Druidical Remains in the Island of Guernsey. By Joshua Gosselin, Esq. in a Letter addressed to the Right Hon. Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. K. B. P. R. S. F. & A.*

Read 5th December, 1811.

MY DEAR SIR,

Guernsey, November 9th, 1811.

A SMALL temporary redoubt was constructed some few years back, on a height near the shore, on the left of Lancrese Bay, three miles from the town in this island. The ground on which this redoubt stood, being composed of a sandy turf, was by degrees levelled by the wind, and the edges of some stones were thereby discovered, which, upon inspection, I immediately knew to belong to a Cromlech or Druidical Temple. I send you a drawing of this Temple, (Plate XVIII.) as it appeared after the sand, which had covered it to the depth of three or four feet, was removed. The two parallel black lines on the back ground, I imagine to have been the sod covered, at different times, with an accumulation of sand blown on it by the wind. I send you also a plan of the surface of the Temple, with the respective measurements of the stones. (Pl. XIX.) They are of a greyish granite, such as form the rocks in that neighbourhood, and are of a rude shape, having the under part flat. The largest of these stones weighs about 20 tons. They are supported by stones of the same kind, of the number and breadth marked in the plan with a dotted line, the highest being about $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the ground. The temple slopes from west to east; the length of it is 32 feet, and the greatest width between the supporting stones is 12 feet. The soldiers, who were employed in clearing away the sand, have assured me, that there was a stone which closed the entrance into the temple, that some steps led down into it, and that there was a pavement of small pebbles, but I cannot vouch for the truth of these particulars. When I saw the Cromlech, there was certainly no vestige of any steps or pavement. There was,

however, a quantity of human and different animal bones found in it, likewise some broken pieces of coarse earthen vessels, together with some limpets, such as are on the rocks in the bay, a few cockle shells and land snails. These last might have been blown into it by the wind, when it filled with sand, as there are plenty of them on the adjoining common. Some of the fragments of vessels seem to have been blackened with fire, and bear the appearance of antiquity; a vessel of reddish clay was found whole, which held somewhat more than a quart, and was of the shape of a common tea cup. A flat circular bone of some fish, of the shape of a disk, and about nine inches in diameter, was discovered, together with an old fish hook, the former of which was given by the soldiers to Sir John Doyle. I was only able to procure for myself some of the fragments of broken ware. About 18 feet distance from the foot of the temple, there are remains of a circle of stones which probably surrounded it; they are placed about a foot above the ground, and in general about two feet distant from each other. At about 42 feet from the temple, there appears to have been another circle of stones of a larger size than those of the inner circle, but there are very few of them remaining. As this temple stands upon the top of a hill, it is the intention of some gentlemen in the island to have so much of the sand on each side of it removed, as may render it visible to all the surrounding country.

We have three more such temples in this island, but not so complete, nor so large, as the one I have just described.

One of these is situated near Paradis, at the Clos of the Vale, and is called "La Pierre du déhus." It stands on a rising ground, and slopes towards the east north east. The stones are of a grey granite. The supporting, or upright stones, are $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the ground in the inside, and could not be more, as the bottom is rocky; they form a parallelogram in the inside of 12 feet broad. I send you two views of this temple, (Pl. XX.) and likewise a plan of the surface with the admeasurements, (Pl. XXI.)

Another of these temples is seen at the Catiaroc, at St. Savior's, of which I have also the pleasure to send you two views, (Pl. XXII. fig. 1, 2.)

The third is situated between Lancresse Bay and the Valle Church, and is partly concealed by furze (Pl. XXII. fig 3.).

Some years ago I discovered a very large Logan or rocking stone, on a rock at the opposite side of Lancresse Bay, which could easily be rocked by a child; but within these three years it has been entirely destroyed, and no vestige of it now remains. An ancient manuscript says that this island was originally inhabited by fishermen, who were Pagans, and used to place large stones one upon another, near the sea shore, on which they performed their sacrifices. The stones of this kind which are now extant, are certainly all situated near the sea shore, and this circumstance so far corroborates the information given in the manuscript.

I have the honour to be,

Dear Sir,

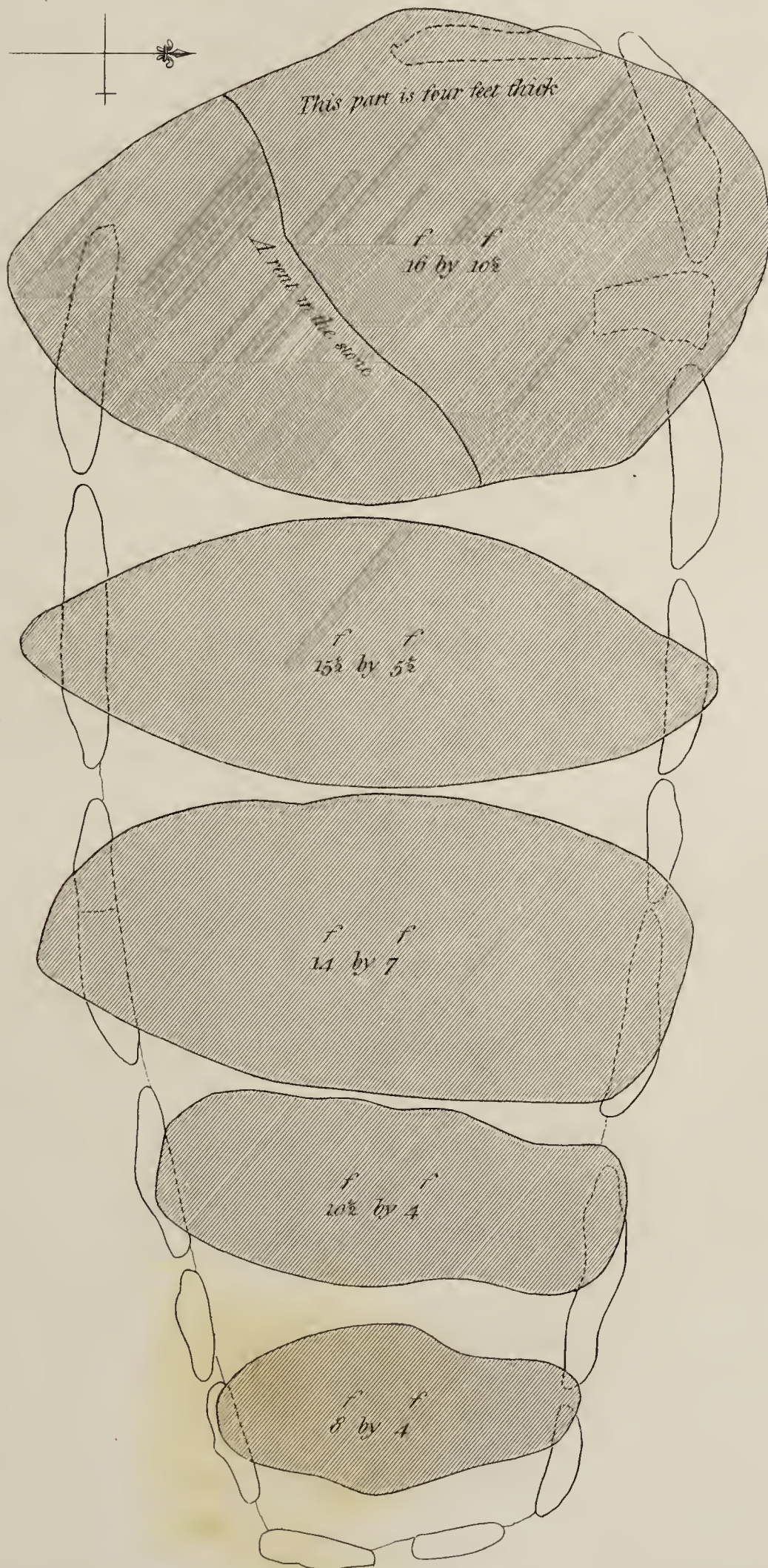
Your obliged, and very humble servant,

JOSHUA GOSSELIN.

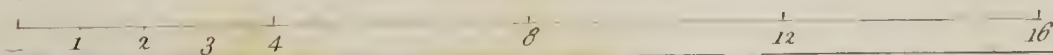


Temple of Lancrefse, in the Valle Parish in Guernsey.

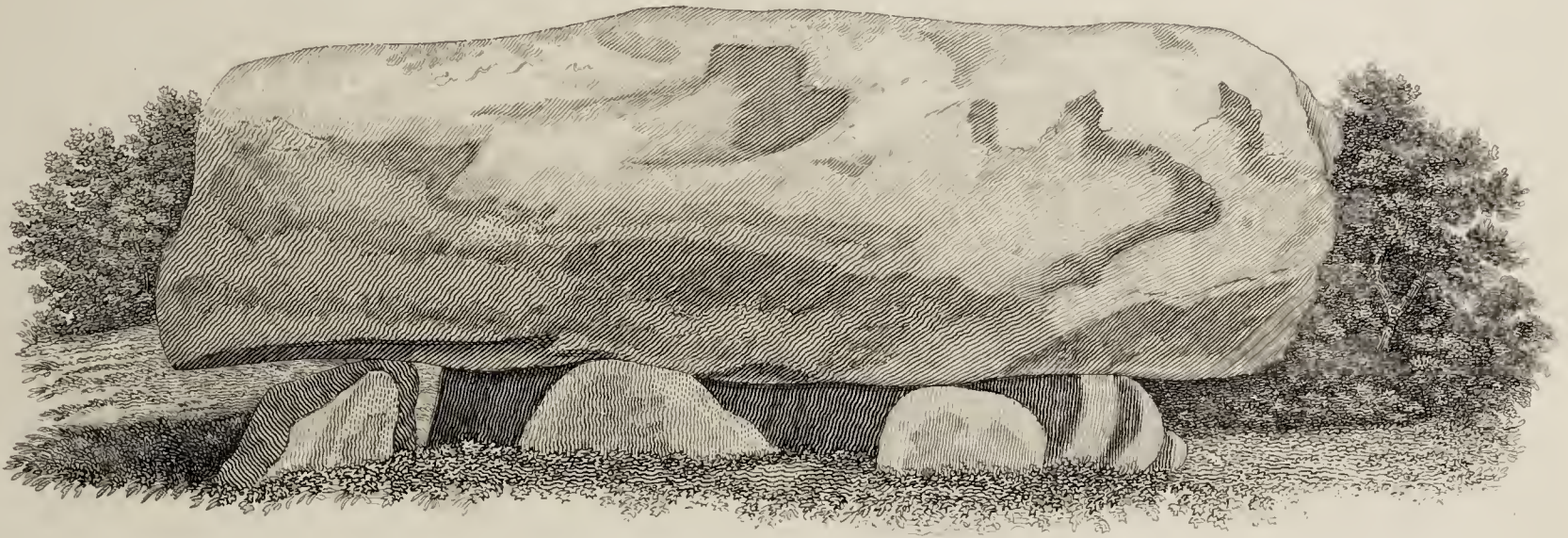
Plan of the surface of the Temple at Lanerfse in the Valle Parish, in Guernsey.



Scale of 4 feet to an Inch.



View of the Temple called "La Pierre du déhus," near Paradis, at the Clos of the Vale, in Guernsey.



West South West View.



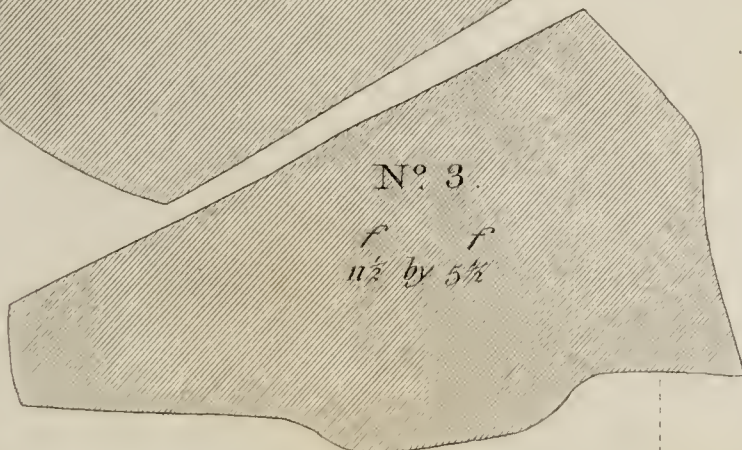
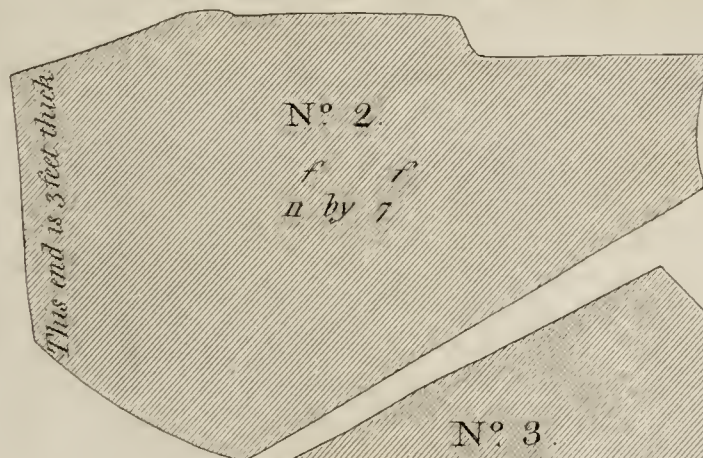
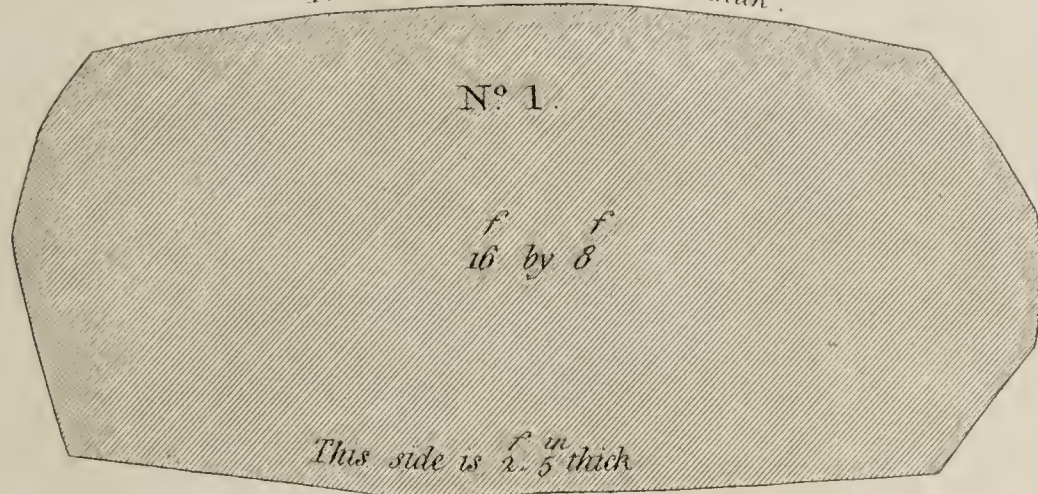
East North East View.

Plan of the surface of the Temple called "La Pierre du déhus," near Paradis, at the Clos of the Vale, in Guernsey.

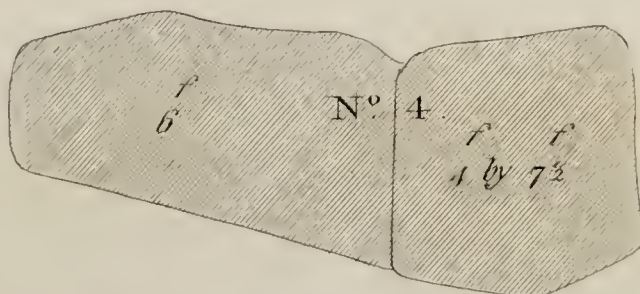
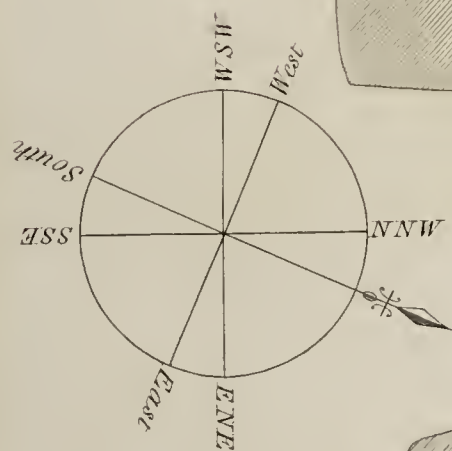
Scale of 4 feet to an Inch.



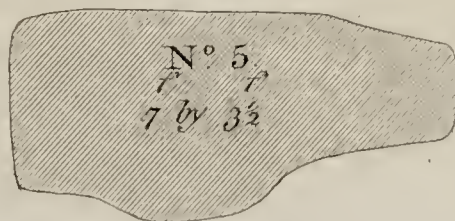
This side is 4 feet 5½ inches thick.



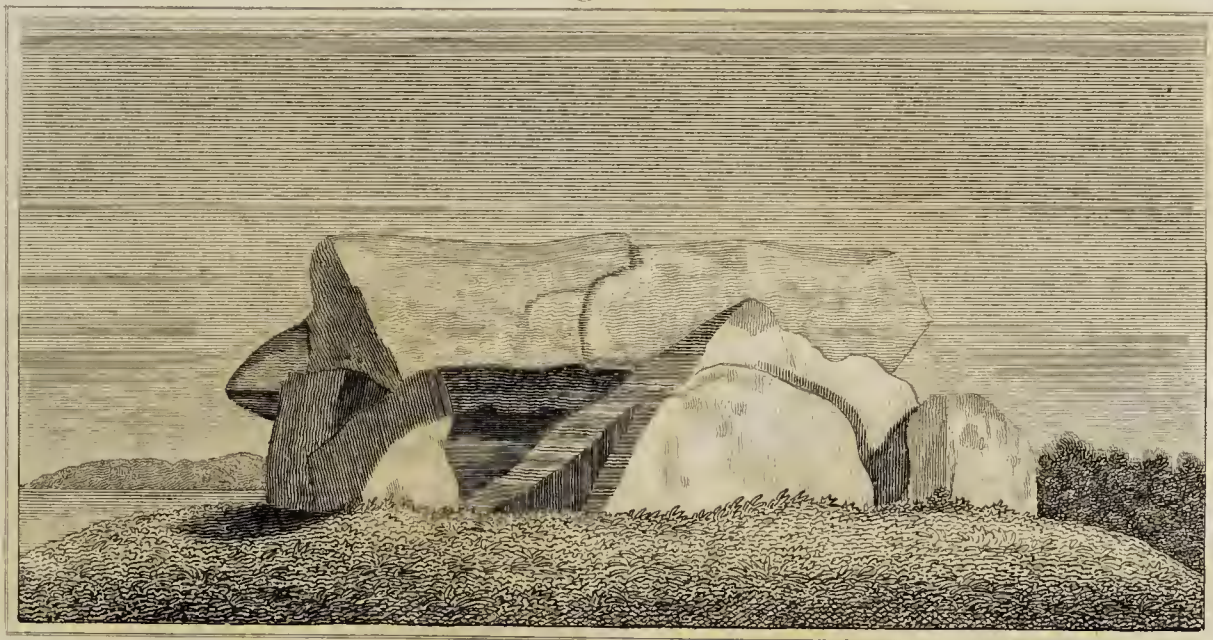
There are 5 upright stones about 1½ feet high, at 18 feet distance from the great stone, of the same length and parallel to it, which in all probability are part of those which might have enclosed the Temples. One of the 5 is much less than the others thus:



The surface of N° 1. is level with the sod, and appears to be a rock.



N° 5. Is raised a few inches from the ground, except at each end which rests on it, so that it might originally have formed a part of the Temple.

Fig. 1.*North View of the Temple at the Catoroc, at S^t Savior's in, Guernsey.**Fig. 2.**South View of the Temple at the Catoroc, at S^t Saviors, in Guernsey.**Fig. 3.*

*Temple among the furze, between Lancresse Bay and the Valle Church, in Guernsey.
The large upper stone is 9 feet long.*

XXX. *Observations on the Metre of the Anglo Saxon Poetry,*
by the Rev. J. J. Conybeare, M. A. Professor of Poetry in
the University of Oxford, in a Letter to Henry Ellis, Esq.
F. R. S. & S. A.

Read 25th of Feb. 1813.

MY DEAR SIR,

Christ Church, Oxford, February 3, 1813.

THE contradictory opinions, which our ablest philological antiquaries have advanced with respect to the leading characteristics by which the poetry of our Anglo Saxon ancestors was distinguished from their prose, will I trust plead my excuse for trespassing upon the time of the Society of Antiquaries, by offering to its attention a few cursory observations on that subject. They are suggested principally by the perusal of two very interesting documents contained in the Exeter Manuscript, some extracts from which I have already had the honour of transmitting through your kind intervention.

Hickes, indisputably one of the most learned of those who can be said to have examined with a critical eye our Saxon literature, appears perhaps no where to so little advantage, as in the pages which he has dedicated to this topic. Influenced by the desire of reducing every thing to some classical standard, a prejudice not uncommon in the age in which he wrote, he endeavours, with greater zeal than success, to shew that the writers whom he was recommending to the world, observed the legitimate rules of Latin prosody, and measured their feet by syllabic quantity. In making so large demands upon the credulity of his readers he was, though unconsciously, laying the foundation of future scepticism. A later author, (Mr. Tyrwhitt) justly celebrated for the success of his critical researches on many subjects connected both with early English and with classical literature, but whose acquaintance with the Anglo Saxon poetry appears to have been derived principally, if not entirely, from the Thesaurus of the illustrious scholar above alluded to, was the first person who ventured openly to

dissent from his authority. Startled by the extravagance of Dr. Hickes's opinions on this subject, and unconvinced by the arguments adduced in their support, he advances into the opposite extreme, declares that he can discover, in the productions of our Saxon Bards, no traces whatever either of a regular metrical system, or even of that alliteration which had hitherto been regarded as their invariable characteristic, and finally professes himself unable to perceive "any difference between the poetry and the prose of that people, further than the employment of a more inflated diction and inverted construction of sentence, in that to which the former title was usually affixed."^a

It cannot, I trust, be considered as disrespectful to the memory of that accomplished and candid philologist, to suggest that a more careful and patient examination of the question would probably have induced him to withdraw these unqualified, and (I cannot but think) inconsiderate assertions. But, in fact, the plan of that work in which he was engaged, relating to the language and versification of a much later period, demanded from him nothing more than a slight and incidental mention of Anglo Saxon poetry. Had it been otherwise, the humbler efforts of future labourers in that department would probably have been in great measure anticipated, if not rendered wholly unnecessary, by the application of that critical acuteness and sound judgment which so eminently distinguished the restorer of Chaucer and the discoverer of *Babrias*.

But I hasten to the detail of those circumstances which I cannot but think of sufficient force altogether to invalidate the opinion of Mr. Tyrwhitt, and which, unless I am much deceived, are calculated also to remove much of the obscurity in which the previous misapprehensions of Dr. Hickes appear to have enveloped one portion at least of the subject.

As the question of alliteration (which indeed requires but a short notice) will be more conveniently treated of after we shall have ascertained the existence and nature of that metre of which it forms the chief ornament, I shall commence with those topics which are in themselves of the greatest extent and interest, and shall endeavour to

^a See the preface to Tyrwhitt's Chaucer.

show both that the Anglo Saxon poetry does really differ from their prose by the usage of metrical divisions, and that the general rhythm and cadence of their verse is not altogether undiscoverable.

The former indeed of these propositions should seem to require no further evidence than the simple comparison of the different methods of punctuation observable in the prosaic and poetical Manuscripts of the Saxons. In the prose we find the single point or dot (equivalent both to our comma and semicolon) but sparingly used. In the poetry on the contrary, which, being written in continuous lines, it would otherwise be difficult to distinguish from prose, the same mark occurs repeatedly at short intervals, and in places where it evidently cannot be required in its usual function of dividing the sentence into its subordinate clauses.^a The members thus included will be found, (as far as we are capable of judging with respect to the pronunciation of that which we possess as a written language only) to have in general a strong similarity of cadence as well as of length. Should this be deemed inconclusive, the question will, I think, be placed beyond the reach of controversy by the specimens about to be adduced. In both these we shall find the poetry broken into similar members, not only by the usual mode of rhythmical punctuation, but in the one instance by the alternate insertion of lines written in the Latin language, and in the other by the employment of final rhyme. The former of these (although hitherto overlooked by those who have written upon this subject) is quoted by Humphrey Wanley in his catalogue of Anglo Saxon manuscripts. It forms the termination of a highly paraphrastic translation of the Phoenix of Lactantius, a short extract from the commencement of which I had the honour to lay before the Society in a former communication. It is written in lines alternately Anglo Saxon and Latin, and runs thus.

Hapath ur alypeð
Lucif Auctop

Nos in vitam eduxit

^a Of this the edition of Cædmon, published by the learned Junius, will afford an accurate specimen; as also will the Judith printed at the end of Thwaites's Heptateuch, a book of somewhat more common occurrence.

Thæt pe motun hep	Uti possemus hic
Meþuepi	
God dædum begietan	Virtutibus acquirere
Gaudia in cœlo,	
Thæt pe motun	Uti possemus
Maxima þegna	
Secan, and esittan	Acquirere, & sedere
Sedibur altir,	
Lifzan in hyre	Vivere in mansione
Lucir et pacir,	
Azan eapðingā	Possidere habitacula
Alma lætitiæ	
Brucan blæð-ðaga	Potiri fructu diurno
Blandam & mittem,	Blando et miti
Leæon sigora þrean	Adspicere gloriæ Dominum
Sine þine,	
And him lof þingā	Et ei gratias canere
Laude pepenni	
Eaðge mid Englum,	Felices cum Angelis.
Alleluia.	

It will be immediately perceived, that such of these Latin verses, as are at all consonant to the rules of prosody, belong either to the Trochaic or Dactylic species, and consist each of two feet. Those which are not reducible to this standard seem yet to be written in imitation of it, with the substitution (as was common in the Latin poetry of the middle ages) of emphasis for quantity. Thus “Sine, fine.” “Blandam et, mittem,” and “Alma lætitiæ,” may be considered respectively as equivalent to a Trochaic, an Adoniac, and a Dactylic line.^a It is to a metre of this kind in which emphasis (as in all the

^a I have thrown into the following note a few more specimens from Wanley's Catalogue illustrative of the positions suggested in the text. The first and second will afford also an entertaining example of the fondness shewn by our Saxon ancestors for introducing into their compositions the few Greek phrases with which they were acquainted.

modern languages of Gothic origin) holds the place of quantity, that I would refer the verses of the Anglo Saxons. They will be

Thur me zesette
 Sanctur & iurur
 Beorn Boca gleaw
 Bonur Auctor
 * * * * *
 * * * * *
 Ne sceal labigan
 Labop quem tenet
 Encpatea
 Ac he ealne sceal
 Boepia
 Bibban georne
 Thuph hir moder gemýnð
 Micpo in Cormo
 * * * *

(Wanl. Cat. p. 110. ex MS. Coll. Corp. Ch. Cant: K. 12.)

Thænne gemiltæð the
 Mundum qui pegit
 Theoba þpým Cýning
 Thponum pedentem
 Abutan Ende
 Saule wine
 Leunne þe on life
 Auctor pacis
 Sibbe gesælða
 Salur Mundi
 Metod je mæpa
 Magna vîptute
 And je soðfæsta
 Summi filius
 Fo on fultum
 Factor Cormi
 * * * * *
 Thæp eadige
 Animæ Sanctæ
 Rice Reftat
 Regna æloppum.

found to consist for the most part of feet of two or three syllables each, having the emphasis on the first, and analogous therefore to the trochee or dactyl, sometimes perhaps to the spondee, of classic metre.

In the above specimen, the line "That we motun," evidently consists of two trochees, or a spondee and trochee. "Eadȝe mið Englum," of a dactyl and trochee. "Secan and ȝerittan," of three trochees.

This appears to have been the fundamental principle of the Saxon metrical system. Variety was produced, and the labour of versification lessened by the admitting lines of different lengths from two to four feet, and frequently by the addition of a syllable extraordinary, either at the commencement or termination of the verse; a circumstance which we find repeatedly occurring in our own poetry, without any such violation of cadence as to alter the character of the metre. The former licence is in Saxon the less common of the two.

The last is entirely in Latin, and appears to be an attempt at rhyme, although the alliteration is for the most part preserved. Wanley himself notices its similarity to the Anglo Saxon metre.

Olim hæc transtuli
Sicuti valui,
Sed modo precibus
Constrictus plenius,
O Martine Sancte
Meritis præclare

Juva me miserum
Meritis modicum.
Caream quo nævis
Mihimet nocuis,
Castusque vivam
Nactus jam veniam

Wanley, p. 189.

Of the substitution of accent or emphasis for quantity, the following wretched lines afford an example, perhaps the more striking, as they are written in imitation of a metre to which we are more accustomed.

Denique composuit pueris hoc stilum rite diversum
Qui Bata Ælfricus Monachus brevissimus.
Qualiter Scholastici valeant resumere fandi
Aliquod initium Latinitatis sibi.

I think, however it may be traced in the following instances:

Du eapτ, hæletha, helm,
 And| Heofon, Deman,
 Engla Oþþuman,
 And| Eorðan tuddor.^c

—
 Læton, æfter, beorzan
 In| blacum, þearfum.
 And þæc, fremedon,
 And ,thæt ne ge,lyfdon.^d

—
 Bi,þolden on, þerthe
 Summæz, þingum, pæl.

The latter, if it is indeed to be regarded as a licence of the same kind, and not rather to be referred to another principle, which I shall consider immediately, is much more common. Several instances of it occur in the few lines already quoted. In the following, and some similar lines, there appears to be an additional syllable both at the commencement and termination.

Weceð and, wpeceð
 Spa| wilðu, Deor.

Occasionally lines of three, or even two syllables, occur; as,

Lather, ƿpæc.

Almighene.

—
 To ƿoƿpe
 Nu ic thuƿ.

—
 Hpæt thu eapτ
 Mhtum ƿpīð.

Fah ƿým.

In the former of these cases (and perhaps also wherever a syllable extraordinary is to be found at the termination of a line) the emphasis might be so strongly marked, as to render it equivalent to two.

^c Cædmon, p. 105.

^d Id.

The latter instance (Fah pȳpm) would not offend against the general rhythm.

The following passages from Cædmon will give examples both of the longer and shorter kinds of metre.

Ænne, hæfde he ȝpa, ȝpīðne ȝe, ȝpophhtne,
 ȝpa, mīhtȳgne, on hīȝ, mod ȝeðhohte,
 He let, hine ȝpa, mīcleȝ, pealdan,
 Hehtne to, him on, heofna, ȝice,
 Hæfde he, hine ȝpa, hƿitne ȝe, ȝpophhtne,
 ȝpa, wȳnlic, wæȝ hīȝ, ȝæȝtm on, heofonum,
 Thæt him, com ȝrom, weƿoda, Dȳhtne,
 Ȝe, he ȝæȝ, he ðam, leohum, ȝteoppum,
 Loȝ, ȝceolde he, Dȳhtneȝ, ȝȳpcean
 Dȳpan, ȝceolde he hīȝ, dȳeamar on, Heofonum,
 And, ȝceolde hīȝ, Dȳhtne, ðancian,
 Thaȝ, læneȝ, ðe he him, on ðam, leohte ȝe, ȝceƿede.

Cædm. p. 6. l. 14.

Unum creaverat adeo potentem,
 Adeo præcellentem intellectu,
 Dederat ei tam ingentem potestatem,
 Proximam sibi in cœlorum regno,
 Illum adeo lucidum creaverat,
 Adeo latus fuit fructus ejus (*vita*) in cœlis,
 Qui ad eum venit a supremo Domino,
 Similis erat lucidis Stellis,
 Gloriæ debuerat Domini inservire,
 Cara habere debuerat gaudia sua in cœlis,
 Et debuerat Domino suo gratias agere,
 Pro munere quod ille ei in luce decreverat.

Uȝ īȝ, riht mīcel,
 Thæt ȝe, roðeȝa, ȝeapð,
 Weƿeda, wulðoȝ, cȳningȝ,
 Woȝdum, heȝȝen,
 Moðum, lȳȝen,
 He īȝ, mæȝna ȝƿeð,
 Heaƿoð ealȝa
 Heah ȝeȝceapȝa.

Nobis est æquissimum
 Ut cœli custodem
 Exercituum, gloriæ-regem,
 Verbis exaltemus,
 Animis diligamus,
 Ille est potentissimus,
 Princeps omnium
 Excellentium creaturarum.

I now pass to the second document above alluded to, as calculated to throw some light upon this subject, from the circumstance of its author having superadded the ornament of rhyme to that of alliteration. This has hitherto escaped the observation of our Saxon scholars. Wanley indeed (to whom we are indebted for the only detailed notice of the Exeter Manuscript) appears to have examined the section in which it is contained with much less than his usual diligence and accuracy.

It will perhaps enable us to appreciate more justly the evidence deducible from the metrical construction of this poem, if we recall what has been said above as to the method of punctuation by which the Anglo-Saxons were accustomed to distinguish their poetry from their prose. The dots or points which they used for this purpose may doubtless, through the negligence of transcribers, have been either omitted, or erroneously inserted. In other instances they may have perished from the injuries of time, weather, and ill usage. Thus the received division of the verse may in many cases become questionable, and any theory grounded upon it be represented as destitute of proof. Against conclusions drawn from the poem in question, it is evident that no such objection can reasonably be advanced.

After a diligent examination, it appears to me that the different species of verse used in this composition may be thus classed :

1. Those which may at first sight be recognized as Trochaic or Dactylic, these are by far the most numerous, as,

Elenged, hipum

Blyra, bleoum

Bloŕma, hipum

Spitche ne, minŕade

Lifre mid, longum

Leoma ze,tonzum

Horŕce mec, hepedon

Hilde ze,nepedon.

2. Of the Trochaic species, with the Hypercatalectic syllable, as,

Ahte ic, ealdor, ŕtol

Ealdor, popðum, ȝol.

Wæŕ on, laȝu, ŕŕneame, lað

Thæŕ me, leothu, ne bi, ȝlað.

3. Lines of three syllables (similar to those mentioned above), as

Tīp, pelgāde		Irjæp̄t, hapāth		Tneop, t̄hpāg
Blæb, bliſſade				Ir to, t̄pāg.

In this poem (from which I forbear to make any further quotations, in the expectation of having, at some future opportunity, the honor to lay the whole of it before the Society,) and in all the other metrical compositions of the Saxons with which I am acquainted, there are certainly many lines which it is beyond my power to reduce to a strict agreement with this metrical system; but these difficulties are not, I think, of sufficient frequency or cogency to invalidate those conclusions concerning the metre of Anglo Saxon Poetry, which may be drawn from the general tenor of its construction. It is probable too, that an uncultivated age was not very fastidious as to the precise observation of the rhythmical canons. If the violations of metre were not such as grossly to offend in singing or repetition, they would scarcely demand any higher degree of correctness.

I ought perhaps to apologize for having already taken up so great a portion of the Society's time by the discussion of so unimportant a subject. Should it however appear not totally unworthy of their attention, I shall be happy, at some future opportunity, to have the honor of transmitting such remarks as have occurred to me upon some other characteristics of Anglo Saxon Poetry.

Believe me, with the sincerest esteem,

My dear Sir, yours, &c.

J. J. CONYBEARE.

XXXI. *Further Observations on the Poetry of our Anglo-Saxon Ancestors, by the Rev. J. J. Conybeare, M. A. Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford; addressed in a second Letter to Henry Ellis, Esq. F.R.S. Secretary.*

Read 9th December, 1815.

MY DEAR SIR,

IN the last communication, which I had the honor of submitting through your kindness to the Society, I endeavoured to prove that the poetical compositions of the Anglo-Saxons were distinguished from their prose by the continual use of a certain definite rhythm, and to investigate, as far as I was able, the metrical structure of those venerable and interesting remains. I now proceed to add such further remarks on their peculiar characteristics, as have been suggested to me by an attentive though partial examination of the principal works of this description preserved either in print or in manuscript.

With respect to the alliteration systematically adopted by all the writers of Anglo-Saxon poetry, little perhaps can be added to the observations of the laborious Hickes. It may however be briefly noticed, that our ancestors do not appear to have been anxious to construct their alliterative systems with the intricacy or variety said to be discoverable in those of the northern Scalds; that they were more partial to the recurrence of consonants than vowels, and that they were usually studious of throwing the alliteration on the emphatic syllables. I do not recollect any instance of an attempt to carry on the same alliteration through a considerable number of lines together. It seldom, I believe, extends beyond the distich; and its constant recurrence within this definite space would alone, I am convinced, have been sufficient to induce Mr. Tyrwhitt, had he given

more of his time and attention to the subject, to regard it as an index of a systematic and uniform division of the sentence, to which nothing analogous could be discovered in the prose compositions either of the Anglo-Saxons or any other people. In those cases (and they are of extremely rare occurrence) where no alliteration can be traced, we may fairly conjecture that its absence is owing either to the carelessness of the writer, or, which is yet more probable, to the licence frequently assumed by the transcribers of the middle ages, of substituting for the original text such expressions as appeared to themselves more poetical or more intelligible.

But enough has, I trust, been offered upon this subject to clear up, in some measure at least, the obscurity in which the haste and inaccuracy of one whom, upon any other point of criticism, it would be difficult to convict of either, had involved it.

The general history of Anglo Saxon Poetry, and the characteristic features of its diction and composition, have been so ably illustrated by the pen of Mr. Turner, as to leave but little to the industry of his successors in that field of literature.

That gentleman has particularly noticed the constant accumulation of equivalent, or nearly equivalent, words and phrases, which, as it generally constitutes the chief and earliest ornament of the poetry of rude and illiterate nations, appears in that of our Saxon ancestors to have supplied almost entirely the place of those higher graces and resources of composition, which are the natural results of a more advanced state of civil society, and a more extended range of information. There is, however, one peculiarity of construction occurring in the poetical remains of the Anglo Saxons, which, as far as my knowledge extends, has not been mentioned by any preceding writer; and which, nevertheless, is so generally prevalent in them, as to preclude, I think, all supposition of its being other than the effect of design. I mean an artificial arrangement of the several phrases or clauses of which the sentence is constituted, in a manner somewhat resembling that observed by Bishop Lowth in the sacred poetry of the Hebrews, and termed by that illustrious scholar *Parallelism*.

Of this the following examples will give, perhaps, a better notion than any explanation.

Terra tremuit,
Etiam cœli stillarunt,
Propter Deum
Ipse Sinai,
Propter Deum,
Deum Israelis.

Eduxit populum suum cum gaudio,
Cum jubilo electos suos.

Quum exiret Israel ex Ægypto,
Familia Jacobi, a populo barbaro.

Qui convertit rupem in stagnum aquarum,
Saxum siliceum in fontem aquarum.^a

Many more examples may be found by referring to the Præll. Hebb. of Lowth; but in most, if not in all of them, there is a parallelism of the verb, as well as of the other parts of the sentence, and the clauses are frequently connected by a conjunction; circumstances seldom observable in the parallelism (if I may be so allowed to term it) of the Anglo-Saxon writers. In the following specimens I have marked the corresponding lines with the same letters.

^a / Tha pær pulðner peapð	Ibi erat Gloriæ Dominus
Wolenum biŕengun	Cœlis trementibus, (<i>disruptis</i> ,)
^a / Heah Engla cýning	Altus Angelorum Rex
Oŕen hjoŕaŕ upp	Super fastigia elevatus
^a / Haligra helm.	Sanctorum tutela.
<hr/>	
^a / Wile hi to eop	Vult ille tanquam oves
^b / Ealler paldend	Omnium Dominus
^b / Cýning on ceapŕe	Rex in civitate (<i>sua</i>)
^a / Conŕþene lýtle	Coronam parvam
^b / Fýnn-peopca ŕuma	Antiquorum operum origo
	(<i>Creationis Auctor</i>)
^a / Fole zelædan	Gentem ducere
^c / In ðŕæma ðŕæm.	In gaudiorum gaudium.

The foregoing are extracted from the Exeter MS. The poems at-

^a Ps. lxxviii. v. 9. cv. v. 13. cxiv. v. 1. 3. I quote from the literal translation of Berlin. Upsal, 1895.

tributed to Cædmon afford innumerable instances of the same figure.

One paragraph in his description of the Deluge may be rendered line for line, and almost word for word, thus:

^a/ Bethought him then, our God
^b/ Of him that plough'd the wave,
^a/ The gracious Lord of Hosts
^b/ Of Lamech's pious son,
^c/ And of each living soul
^c/ He sav'd amid the floods,
^a/ All glorious fount of life,
^c/ High o'er the deep abyss.

A somewhat similar species of apposition may occasionally, though, I believe, very rarely, be observed in the lyric poetry of the Greeks. There is a slight trace of it in a magnificent passage of the tenth Olympic of Pindar.

Ιδὲ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΑ ΠΟΛΥΚΤΕΑΝΟΝ

Ἰππο στερεῶ πυρι, πλαγαῖς τε σιδαρου

Βαθὺν εἰς οὐχέτον αἰας ἰζοισαν ΕΑΝΗΟΛΙΝ.

In our own language, the *Paradise Regained* offers one passage of a like construction:

Where God is prais'd aright, and godlike men,
 The holiest of holies and his saints.

In the very few instances in which this figure is to be found in classical or in English poetry, it may perhaps be fairly regarded (so far as the term is applicable to any thing connected with studied composition) as *accidental*. In the Saxon, on the other hand, it is too uniformly adopted, and carried to far too great an extent to be attributed to mere chance. Whether it constituted a part of their original poetical mechanism, or whether it was adopted, with some little modification, from the style of those sacred poems in which it forms so prominent a feature, is a question to which it would perhaps be difficult

to give even a plausible answer. As far as my own observation has gone, it appears to be most frequently used in those poems, the subjects of which are drawn from scripture. It might also perhaps be questioned by some, whether the rhythmical system itself, which it has been the object of these communications to illustrate, was originally the property of our northern ancestors, or whether it was constructed by them (after their conversion to Christianity, and consequent acquaintance with the general literature of the age) in imitation of the shorter trochaic and dactylic metres of the later classical and ecclesiastical poets; the authors most likely to have furnished the writers upon moral and religious topics with their favourite models. The resemblance between these and the Anglo-Saxon poems in point of rhythm is certainly very considerable; but there is yet little reason to suppose it the effect of imitation. The same metrical system is certainly to be traced through the whole of that singular poem, the *Voluspa*, which, if we can rely upon the authority of the northern editors of their own national poetry, is the earliest composition extant in the Icelandic, and was written before the conversion of that people to Christianity, and consequently while they were yet ignorant of the models above alluded to.

These poems too being probably in most cases composed for the instruction and use of unlettered persons, their authors would hardly have gone out of their way to choose a metre to which the individuals whom they chiefly expected to reap the benefit of their pious labours were unaccustomed.

However this may be with respect to the metre, the systematic use of alliteration is a practice entirely of northern or (as it also was used by the Welch) of Celtic origin. The instances of its occurrence, collected by Hickes from writers of classical antiquity, shew by their scantiness that it never could have formed any part of the systematic prosody either of the Greeks or Latins. Whether it is to be found in that of any other country, I am ignorant.^a If the Normans brought it

^a It is affirmed in the *Hodegus Finnicus*, a Grammar of that language by Martinus, that the Finlanders have an alliterative metre. They may possibly have adopted it from their Gothic neighbours.

with them into France, they lost it (together with their original language) at a very early period. In this country, though generally superseded by the use of rhyme, it continued occasionally to shew itself, even sometimes in company with that intruder, at least till the period of the revival of letters.

I have subjoined as a specimen, which may somewhat further contribute to illustrate this subject, the description of the Deluge from Cædmon, in which I have adopted the following marks :

The *italic* letters mark the alliterative consonants or vowels, as, *Fus*.

, Marks the supposed division of feet, as *Siddan,*

— Marks a syllable supposed in recitation to have been rendered (by the emphasis) equivalent to two, as *Ti[—]*.

+ Marks a line, the rhythm of which appears doubtful, as + ; "Wræcon aplear⁺na feoph."

Drihten, <i>rende</i>		Deus misit
Regn <i>from, roderum,</i>		Pluviam a cælo,
And eac, <i>rume let</i>		Et etiam latè dedit
Wille, <i>bupnan</i>		Fontes scaturientes
On woruld, <i>thringan</i>	5	In orbem irruere
Of, æd [—] ra ge, <i>hpæne.</i>		E venâ omni.
Egon, <i>rtreamar</i>		Oceani fluctus
Spearte, <i>ppo[—]gan.</i>		Nigri resonabant.
Sær up, <i>stigon</i>		Maria ascendebant
Ofer, <i>stead peallar.</i>	10	Super riparum mœnia.
Stianz wær and, <i>peðe</i>		Fortis erat et acer
Se the, wætrum, <i>weold,</i>		Qui aquis imperavit,
Wpeah and, <i>theah[—]te</i>		Tegebat et obruebat
Man, <i>fæhðu, bearn.</i>		Iniquitatis filios.
Middan, <i>geap[—]er</i>	15	Mediam terram
Wonnan, <i>wæge</i>		Luridus fluctus
Wepa, <i>æthel-land</i>		Hominum patriam
Ho [—] f, <i>hep[—]ode.</i>		Elevatam vastavit.
Hyge, <i>teonan, p[—]rac</i>		Animi iniquitatem ulsciscebatur
Metod on, <i>Monnum.</i>	20	Creator in homines.
Mepe, <i>ryde, gnep</i>		Mare furens corripuit
On, <i>fæge, folc.</i>		Languentem populum.
Fecpenti [—] z, <i>ðaga</i>		Quinquaginta dies

Nihtra, oðher ƿile,		Noctes simul totidem.
Nið ƿær, ƿeðe	25	Ira fuit gravis,
Wæll-ƿum, ƿepum		Strage ferox in viros.
Wulðor, Cýninges, yða		Gloriæ Regis Unda
+ Wƿæcon, aplearƿa, ƿeopu		Ulciscebatur impiam mentem
Of ƿlærce, homan.		Carnis humanæ.
Flod ealle ƿneah	30	Fluctus omnes tegebat
Hƿeoh under, heofonum		Asper sub cœlo
Hea, beorƿar		Altos montes
Leonð, siðne ƿunð		Per latam terram,
And on, sunð ahoƿ		Et super undam levabat
Eaƿce ƿrom, eorðan	35	Arcam a terrâ
And tha, æðelo, mið:		Et habitatores simul.
Tha, seƿnade		Hoc Illi jusserat
Selƿa, Dƿihzen,		Ipse Dominus
Scýppend, uƿƿer,		Creator Noster
Tha he thæt, scip beleac:	40	Ut eam navem circumcluderet.
Siddan, ƿiðe ƿað		Tunc late profecta est
Wolcnum, under		Sub cœlo
Oƿer, holmes hƿunc		Super Oceani circuitum
Hoƿi relesƿe:		Domus beata.
For mið, seapme:	45	Ibat cum habitatoribus.
Fære ne, moƿton		Timere non debebant
Wæƿ, liðendum		Undam navigantes
Wæ ƿer, bƿozan		Aquæ violentiam.
Hæƿe, hƿunon		Æstum tetigerunt,
Ac hie, haliz, Gōð	50	Sed eos Sanctus Deus
Fepede &, nepede		Ducebat & servabat.
Fiftena, ƿcōð		Quindecim cubitus
Deop oƿer, dunum		Alta super montes
Sæ, dƿence ƿlod,		Maris unda bibebat
Monner, elna.	55	Hominum vim.
Thæt iƿ, mæpo ƿýrð,		Ille est casus memorabilis.
Tham æt, mehƿtan		Illos prope
Wæƿ, nan to ze, dale		Erat nemo, in solitudine
+ Nýmthe heo ƿær		Præter eum qui erat
+ Ahapen on		Elatum in
+ Tha hean lýft.*		Alto Cælo (sc. Deum)

* In the printed copy these three lines are thus divided by the usual punctuation. I have

Tha je, eƷop-hepe
 Eopdan, Ʒuddop
 Eall ac, pealde
 Buton Ʒhæt, eaƷceboƷð
 Heold, HeoƷona, ƷƷea.

Tunc aquarum agmen
 Terræ progeniem
 Omnem obruit.
 Sed eam Arcam
 Sustinuit cæli Dominus.

The Lord sent rain from Heav'n, and o'er the land
 Wide wasting, bad the whelming torrents rush.
 Dark from th' abyss, with hideous roar, burst forth
 Th' imprison'd waters. Ocean heav'd his tide
 High o'er its wonted limits. Strong was he
 And mighty in his wrath, that on the plains
 Pour'd that avenging stream, and swept to death,
 Wide through the realms of earth, a sinful race.

Now o'er each dwelling place of man the wave
 Spread desolation, for the Lord fulfill'd
 His anger upon mortals. Fifty days,
 And fifty nights continuous that dark flood,
 Fearstruck and fainting, drove them to their doom.
 Vengeance and death in all their terrors rag'd.
 The heav'n-commission'd waters on all flesh
 Work'd the dread punishment of lawless lust.

Fearful and wild where'er beneath the sky
 Earth spreads her ample confines, the swift stream
 O'er-towr'd the mountains, and, secure meanwhile,
 With all her inmates bore the sacred bark.

Sped by the pow'r that bad Creation rise,
 So swell'd the flood that soon its buoyant load
 The watry waste encompass'd—fearless then
 Of hunger or of harm they rode at large
 Beneath Heavn's canopy—the billow's rage
 Touch'd not that fated vessel—for their Lord
 Was with them still—the Holy One preserv'd them.
 Full fifteen cubits o'er the mountain heights
 The sea-flood rose and drank the force of man.
 Wondrous and awful was that work of wrath.

^a *They* were cut off from men, and none was near them,
 Save him that reigns above—all else on earth
 The whelming host of waters cover'd wide.
 That ark alone th' Almighty one upheld.

not at present the opportunity of consulting the MS. but should conjecture that the following
 was their original arrangement :

NýmƷhe heo, Ʒær a, Ʒapen
 Oh Ʒha, Ʒean lýƷƷ

^a Noah and his family—the abruptness of the transition here is very striking.

XXXII. *Three Letters from the Cotton Manuscript Vespasian F. XIII. communicated by Henry Ellis, Esq. F.R.S. Secretary, in a Letter to Samuel Lysons, Esq. F. R. S. Vice President.*

Read 27th May, 1813.

DEAR SIR,

British Museum, May 26, 1813.

THE Cotton Manuscript from which the joint Letter of the Earls of March and Rutland, to their father Richard Duke of York, was transcribed, contains numerous Letters at least of equal, if not superior importance.

I have copied three, which I consider as valuable specimens of the epistolary style of the reign of Henry the Eighth. The first is a letter from the King, written entirely in his own hand to Wolsey, at a time when the Cardinal had reached the summit of his greatness. The second is from Wolsey, immediately upon his fall, to Secretary Cromwell. And the third, to Cromwell, from the widow of Lord Rochford who was beheaded.

If you think them worth communicating, I shall have great pleasure in reading them to the Society.

I am, dear Sir,

Sincerely yours,

HENRY ELLIS.

Samuel Lysons, Esq. V. P. &c. &c.

King Henry the Eighth to Cardinal Wolsey, without date.

(MS. Cotton. Vesp. F. xiii. fol. 71.)

“MYNE awne good Cardinall, I recomande me vnto you with all my hart, and thanke yow for the grette payne and labour that yow do dayly take in my bysynes and maters, desyryng yow (that wen yow

have well establyshyd them) to take sūme pastyme and cōfort, to the intent yow may the longer endure to s'ue us, for allways payne can nott be induryd. Surly yow have so substancyally orderyd oure maters bothe off thys syde the See and byonde that in myne oppynyon lityll or nothyng can be addyd; nevertheles, accordyng to your desyre, I do send yow myne oppynyon by thys berar, the refformacion whereoff I do remytte to yow and the remnante off our trusty consellers, whyche I am sure wyll substantyally loke on hyt. As tochyng the mater that Syr Wylliam Sāys broght answar off, I am well contentyd with what order so ever yow do take in itt. The quene my wyff hathe desyryd me to make har most harty recōmendations to yow, as to hym that she loveth very well, and bothe she and I wolde knowe fayne when yow wyll repayre to vs. No more to yow att thys tyme but that w' gods helpe I trust we shall dysapoynte oure enymys off theyre intendyd purpose. Wryttyn w' the hand off your lovyng master

HENRY R."

"To my Lorde Cardinall."

 (Vesp. F. xiii. fol. 76.)

Cardinal Wolsey "to myn entirly belouyd Thomas Cromwel in hast.

MYN owne enterly belouyd Cromwel, I heseche yow as ye loue me, and wyl euyr do any thyng for me, repare hyther thys day as sone as the parlemēt ys brokyn vp, leyng aparte all thyngs for that tyme; for I wold nut onely cōmynycat thyngs vnto yow wherin for my cōfort and relief I wold haue your good, sad, dyscret aduyse and counsell, but also opōn the same cōmytt sertying thyngs requyryng expedicōn to yow, on my behalf to be solycytyd: this, I pray yow therfor, to hast yo' cōmyng hyther assafore, with owt omyttyng so to do as ye tendyr my socor, reliff, and comfort, and quyetnes of mynde. And thus fare ye wel: from Asher, in hast, thys Satyrday, in the mornyng, w' the rude hande and sorowfull hert of yo' assuryd louer

T. CAR^{lis} EBOR.

I haue also serteyn thyngs cōs'nyng yow' sylf wych I am suere ye wolbe glad to here and knowe: fayle not therfor to be here thys nygth, ye may retorne erly in the mornyng ageyn yf nede shul so requyre. Et iterum vale.

M. Agusteyn shewyd me how ye had wryttyn onto me a lre wherin ye shuld adu'tyse me of the cōmyng hyther of the Duke of Norfolke: I assure yow ther cam to my hands no suche lre."

(Vesp. F. xiii. fol. 109 b.)

Letter from Jane, Widow of Lord Rochford, to Secretary Cromwell.

"MAISTER Secretory, as a power desolat wydow, wythoute comfort, as to my specyall trust under God and my pryns I haue me most humbly recommendyd unto youe, prayng youe, after your accustomed gentyll maner to all them that be in suche lamentabull case as I ame in, to be meane to the kyngs gracyous Hyghnes for me, for suche power stufte and plate as my husbonde had, whome god pardon, that, of hys gracyous and mere lyberalyte I may haue hyt to helpe me to my power lyvyng, whiche to hys hyghnes ys nothyng to be regardyd, and to me schuld be a most hygh helpe and souccor. And ffarther more where that the kyngs hyghnes and my Lord my father payed great soms of money for my Joynter to the Errell of Wyltchere, to the some off too thowsand Marks, and I not assuryd of no more, duryng the sayd Errells naturall Lyff, then one hundreth Marke, whyche ys veary hard for me to schyffte the worldd wythall, that youe wyll so specyally tender me in thys behalff as to enforme the Kyngs hyghnes of these premysses wherby I may the more tenderly be regardyd of hys gracyous persone; youre worde in thys schall be to me a sure helpe, And God shall be to youe therefore a sure reward, whyche dothe promes good to them that doth helpe powere forsaken wydos. And bothe my prayer and servys schall helpe to thys duryng my naturall Lyff as most bounden so to doe, god my wyttnes, whoo ever more preserve youe.

JANE ROCHFORD."

XXXIII. *Description of the Reading Desk of the Abbey Church of Evesham, in Worcestershire, by Edward Rudge, Esq. F.R.S. S.A. and L.S. in a Letter addressed to Nicholas Carlisle, Esq. Secretary.*

Read 4th Nov. 1813.

DEAR SIR,

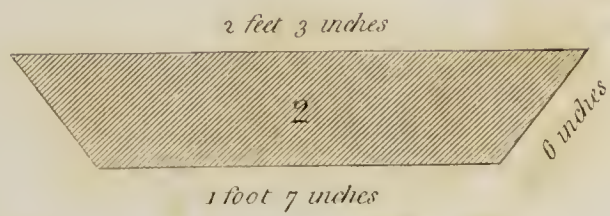
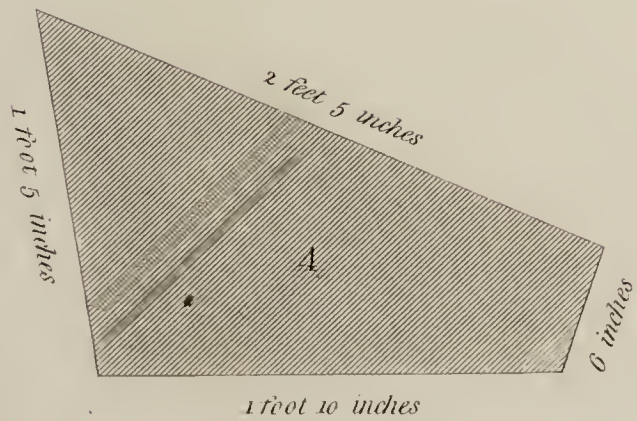
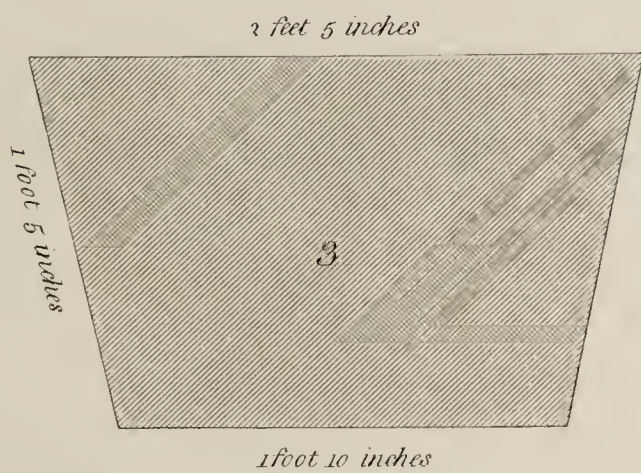
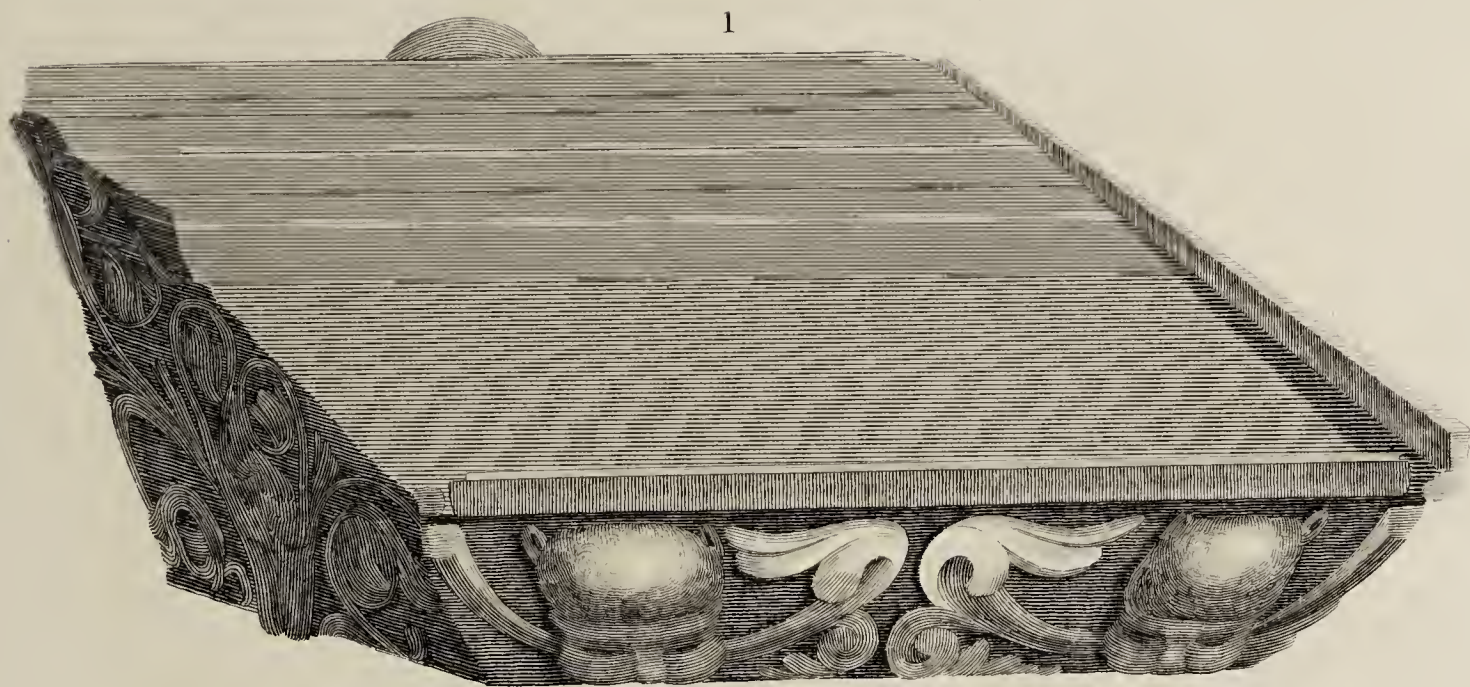
Wimpole Street, 4th Nov. 1813.

THE drawings (Pl. XXIII. XXIV.) which accompany this, and which I request of you to present to the Society of Antiquaries, exhibit a correct representation of the Reading Desk belonging to, and which formerly stood in, the Abbey Church of Evesham.

The church and the monastic buildings attached to it, with the exception of Clement Litchfield's tower, the abbey house, and a gothic arch belonging to the cloisters, were completely destroyed at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries in the reign of Henry VIII. and no account whatever of their form and dimensions is to be found in any work of antiquities extant.

The foundation walls, and the ruins of the abbey church and chapter house, now lie under the surface of the field and gardens on one side of the tower, in which I have lately dug up numerous carved and gilt ornaments of stone, which shew the style of the architecture, and decoration of the structure; and I have also traced a considerable part of the foundation walls of what appears to have been the abbey church and chapter-house.

The Reading desk above-mentioned was dug up in a garden of one of my tenants, near the scite of the abbey church; it is composed of a solid block of white marble of considerable weight, richly carved on the four sides in mezzo-relievo. On the principal front is represented St. Egwin, Bishop of Worcester, the founder of this abbey, with his crosier in his *left* hand, in the act of bestowing his benediction on the people. There can be no doubt of this figure being intended for the founder, from the circumstance of the crosier being placed in the *left* hand, which invariably distinguishes the figure of a bishop, and St. Egwin was the only Abbot of Evesham who enjoyed that dignity. On the back front there are two heads of cherubims, and the



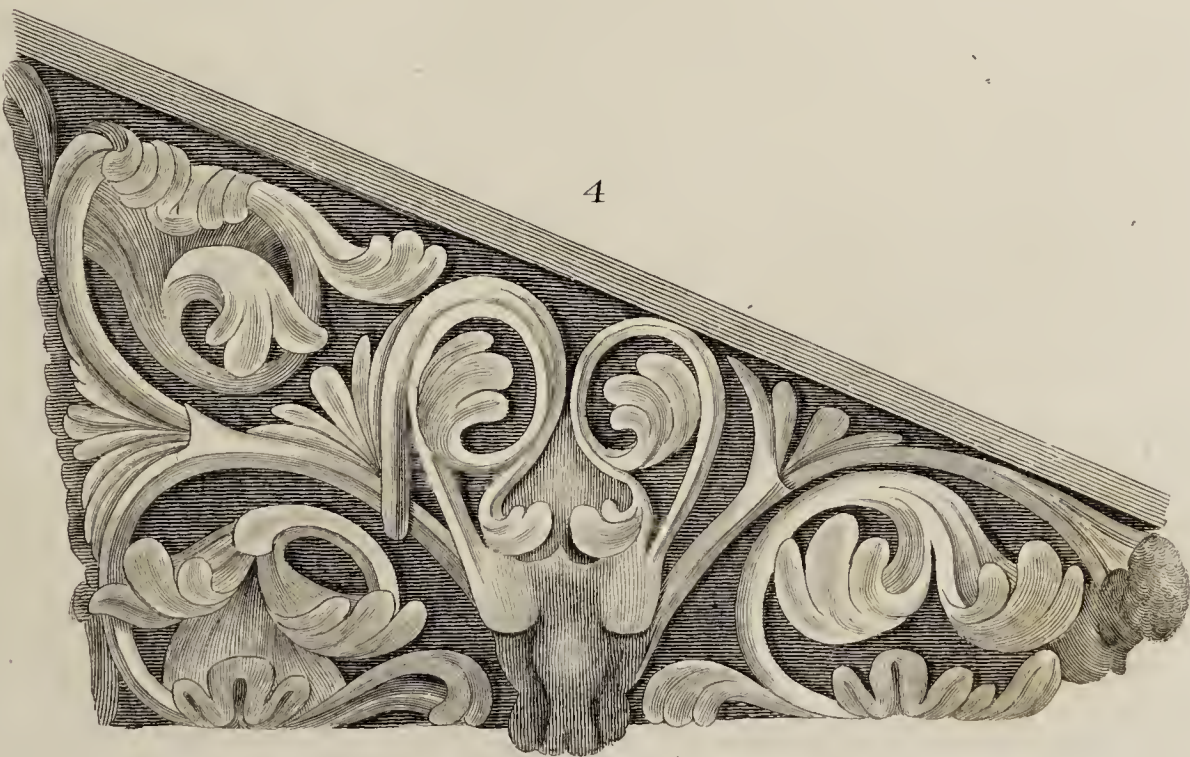
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4



carved ornaments on the other two sides are nearly alike. On three sides of the upper surface there is a ledge to confine the cushion upon which the book was placed, with two holes in the upper corners to which the cushion was tied.

To bring the ornamented sides of the Desk at right angles to the eye of the spectator, it must have been elevated upon a pillar, (probably of the same material) about six or seven feet high, with a few steps for the ascent of the reader at the back; and its situation was, no doubt, in the body of the church.

Tindal, in his *History of Evesham*, page 27, mentions, that Thomas de Marleberg, the thirty-eighth Abbot, (who particularly distinguished himself for the numerous repairs and embellishments which he bestowed on the abbey church and monastery) in or about the year 1218, "returning from Rome, after two years was elected sacrist. He then made a Reading Desk behind the choir, which the Evesham church had not before, and appointed stated readings to be held near the tomb of St. Wilsius."^a

The authenticity of the document from which this extract is taken, inclines me to think that this is the Reading Desk above described; and the ornamental carving on its sides being designed in the Italian taste, by one who had visited the churches of Italy, justly warrants the adoption of this opinion.

Description of Plates XXIII. XXIV.

- Fig. 1. A perspective view of the Reading Desk.
2. The back front.
3. The principal front next to the Congregation.
4. One of the sides.

The Dimensions are annexed to an outline representation of the last three figures.

^a Secundo Anno Abbatis Radulfi ivit idem decanus cum eo Romam, ad Consilium generale; ubi de ejus consilio et industria confirmarentur dispositus redditurum; et multa alia necessaria impetraverunt.

Secundo vero anno reditus a curia, factus est sacrista, et fecit lectricium retro chorum, quod prius non erat factum in Ecclesia Eveshamensi, et legebantur lectiones juxta tumbam S. Wilsini.

See Nash's *Hist. of Worcestershire*, Vol. I. p. 419, where the acts of this Abbot are detailed in the original document above referred to, and from which this extract is taken.

XXXIV. *Original Papers addressed to K. James I. and K. Charles I. on the subject of the Duke of Buckingham, and Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, communicated by Samuel Lysons, Esq. V.P. F.R.S. in a Letter to Nicholas Carlisle, Esq. Secretary.*

Read 11th November, 1813.

DEAR SIR,

King's Bench Walks, 10th Nov. 1813.

THE three enclosed original papers were put into my hands a few weeks since by Lord Sinclair at Nisbett house, in Berwickshire, where his Lordship found them, when he became possessed of that ancient seat of the Carr family; these had been carefully preserved, with other family papers, in a small box. The first of them, addressed to King James the first, by whose command it appears to have been written, contains a variety of charges against the Duke of Buckingham; and was probably drawn up by Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, the former favourite, though it is not in his hand writing, being evidently a fair copy made by a secretary. The two other papers addressed to King Charles the first, in favour of the Earl of Somerset, are written in a very neat hand in letters of gold, and both endorsed with the descriptions here prefixed to them, in the Earl's hand-writing.

I remain, dear Sir,

Your very obedient faithful servant,

SAMUEL LYSONS.

To Nicholas Carlisle, Esq.
Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries.

MOST GRACIOUS KING,

THOSE things, w^{ch} yo^r Ma^{tie} did lately cōmand to be spoken unto yo^u, & now to be repeated unto yo^u by writing, are not such, as that they can be made clearly to appear by legall & judicial proofes; both, because they, by whose testimonye they may be confirmed, doe for feare of a most potent adversarie wth draw themselves; & allso, because they thinke it a crime to come into the Embassado^rs houses: yea,

even they are afraid to do it, who have cōmandem^t to doe it frō yo^r Ma^{tie}.

But neither was it lawfull for the Emb^{rs} themselves to speake these things (especially not to such as they desired) when the order of affaires required it; because they had never the freedome to speake unto yo^r Ma^{tie}, & no audience was graunted them in the absence of the D: of Buckingham: an example certainly unusuall wth other Kings, & never to be taken in good part, unlesse it be perhapps, where the King himselfe wanting experience, and being of weake judgem^t, & no wisdome, some one that is familiar & inward wth the King, a man wise & circūspect, of great judgem^t, & no lesse experience, supplyes the Kings place. But here, where all things goe p^rposterously, & the King himselfe being a most prudent & experienced Prince, he that is his familiar (or favorite) doth in all things show himselfe a rash head-dye young man, a novice in managing of busynes, and to the Crowne of Spaine most offensive; certainly by all just right this man was to be kept away frō the audiences of the Emb^{rs} of that state. We may also be bold to say, that his p^rsence so earnestly desired by him doth argue a great feare in him, and a great distrust as well of his owne upright conscience, as of the Kings wisdom. Hence therefore it comes, that yo^r Ma^{ties} most faithfull vassalls, dare not so much as indirectly disclose their minde to the Kinge, though they take it in very ill part, that a very good King should be driven unto such streights, & that a man pleasing himselfe in his owne designes should use the favo^r of Princes so sinisterly, that he doth of set purpose stirre up breach of freindshipp & enmitie betwixt most mightye Kings. Besides, who can wthout a discontented minde endure that the greatest affaires & of greatest moment (if any in the Christiā world can be so termed) should be ordered & concluded at the pleasure of the Parliam^t, & from thence all things caryed on wth a headlong violence at his will & pleasure, & a most deadly warre to be p^rferred before a most happy peace; when as neverthelesse I am not ignorant, that not so much the restitucoñ of the Palatinate, as the very claime to it, will very difficultly be obtained or recovered by force of armes.

Let yo^r Ma^{tie} exactly consider, as it useth to doe, whether this be not an evident argument of what I have sayd, that the conference (or

treatye) about the Palatinate was taken frō the Councell of State, & societie of most prudent men, onely for this cause, that almost every one of them had wth one consent approved the proposicōn of the Catholike King, & did not finde in it, any cause of dissolving that treatye. Thereupon the Parliam^t of this Kingdome was procured by the Duke, because he thought his plotts would be most acceptable to the Puritanes; not wthout great injurie to the councell of State; frō w^{ch} he fledd & disclaymed by way of appeale, & betooke himselfe to the Parliam^t, as to a sanctuary or altar of appeale: & wth such succeſſe, that we may be bold to say, that the Parliam^t is now aboue the King; nay, w^{ch} is more, that this daring Duke propounded many things to the Parliam^t in the Kings name, yo^r Ma^{tie} neither being made acquainted wth them, nor willing to them, yea & that he propounded many things contrary to yo^r Ma^{ties} service.

Who is there, that doth not see & cōmend the Royall disposicōn of the Prince, adorned wth so great endowments of his minde, that he doth in them all show & approve himselfe to be a good Sonne of a very good King; & yet neverthelesse that the Duke doth somuch p'sume upō his favo^r, that he contemneth all men, as knowing that those who are obedient to his Highnes, will allso subject themselves to his will. I would to God he did direct these his actions to the good of the Prince; but that is a thing so farre frō the opinion of good men, that they rather beleive, that he, that hath overthrowen the mariage wth Spaine, will be of no lesse power to the breaking of of any other mariage; & that it is w^{ch} many doe prophecye. They knew in Spaine that very same day, that he had receeived l^res frō the most Illustrious Princesse Palatine, that he caused the Procuratorie to be revoked, & a few days after, upon the coming of the fore-sayd Princesses Secretarie, and the confirmacōn of his hope of having his daughter married to her Highnes Sonne, all things were utterly dashed in pieces.

Let yo^r Ma^{tie} have a care of yo^rselfe & the Prince, & foresee the hurts & damages, w^{ch} a man of such turbulent humo^{rs} may stirre up; whose headdye spirit yo^r Ma^{tie} saith yo^u have noted, & have desired to mitigate; a man, I say, that is ambitious of popular aire, as plainly appeared in Parliam^t; where, by casting all odious matters upō yo^r

Ma^{tie}, he did arrogate the thankes of all things that were acceptable to himselfe, being styled the Redeemer of his countrey; I say againe, a man, who hath envyed so great a good to the Christian world, and principally to the kingdomes of England & Spaine; having used some certaine meanes, wh^{ch} doe argue that he aymed at such an end, as many allreadie feare, & doe prophecye in it the worst events that can be.

If the Puritanes doe desire a Kingdome, w^{ch} they doe against their will, they wish it not to the most Illustrious Prince, the best & true heyre of yo^r Ma^{tie}, but to the Prince Palatine, whose spye or skowte Mansfeild is, what show so ever he makes. He that maketh these things known to yo^r Ma^{tie} dischargeth the part of a good man, as well towards God as towards yo^r Ma^{tie} & the most Illustrious Prince; whom it now standeth in hand to foresee the vengeance of God provoked by the Dukes plotts & the furie of the Parliam^t; there having bene so many & so great testimonies published against Spaine, contrary to trueth; so many & so frequent infamous Libells begotten and broughth forth, & many such other things, so full of bitternes & ignominie, that they cannot be readd even of o^r enemies wthout some taint upō the English nacōn.

It is most apparant, & stories will testifie it, that here leagues haue bene broken by the will & pleasure of them, whom it especially cōcerned to provide for yo^r peace & quiet, & to wish frō the bottome of their hearts, that after many & those most happy yeares, that motto of yo^{rs} (Blessed be the peace-Makers) might be verified to the letter in the person of yo^r Ma^{tie}; & to propound the same counsell to the most Illustrious Prince to be imitated, wh^{ch} yo^r Ma^{tie} hath done to the whole world to be cōmended & admired.

A happy Prince will he be, if he come & succeede peaceably into the hereditarie possession of his kingdomes; & (w^{ch} will be of no lesse advantage to him) having his peace established wth those Princes, whose friendship and amitie yo^r Ma^{tie} hath deserved, & procured: he would certainly cōmend & love those that had given him these counsell of peace.

Peace and tranquillitie are by hereditarie right devolved to the most Illustrious Prince; in asmuch as he is borne of that father, who

hath wth so great industrie procured them not onely to this Iland, but to the Continent allso; esteeming them at a higher value, then his Kingdomes themselves.

Which, since it is thus, & that the bloud of his father w^{ch} is in him, & the love wherewth he is caried towards yo^r Ma^{tie}, & the experience of this yo^r most happy governem^t, & that great example wherewth yo^r Ma^{tie} hath drawen & wonne the Christian world unto an admiracōn & love of yo^u did all direct the most Illustrious Prince wth a kinde of cōnaturall mocōn to the same counsell & purposes of peace, as might heretofore have bene well observed, & hereafter ought to have bene likewise hoped. Certainly this machinacōn is very strong, violent, & mightye, w^{ch} doth so sodainly labo^r to turne him into a cleane contrary course. And questionlesse, if in the very entrance into a warre, the warre itself doe want justice, it will want allso happy successe:

It cannot be unknownen to yo^r Ma^{tie}, that the Duke of Buckingham carieth himselfe so loftily, that he would have all men persuaded that he hath & doth exercise a kind of dominion over the will of yo^r Ma^{tie}, & of his Highnes. All these things shall be made manifest to yo^r Ma^{tie}, if yo^u will have them so; for there are not meanes wanting, whereby yo^u may free yo^r vassalls from feare & diffidence, who will otherwise dare nothing, nor say nothing: which certainly appears so farre to be true, that when as, things standing as they doe, it is an easy matter to finde who will speake against yo^r Ma^{tie}, yet there is no man that dares to speake against the Duke.

Let yo^r Ma^{tie} call some certaine men unto yo^u, & sift out of them what the opinion of the more moderate Parliam^t men is; & inquire of those that came out of Spaine, who did there give the first cause of falling out: whether the cōplaints against the K. of Spaine so often repeated, be true, or no: whether that forsayd K. were not desirous to satisfye the desire of the Princes Highnes: whether he did not faithfully endevo^r to effect the mariage: whether the D. of Buck. did not many things against the authoritie & reverence due to the most Illustrious Prince: whether he were not wont to be sitting, whilst the Prince stood & was in p^rsence, & having allso his feete resting upō another

seate after an undecent manner: whether when the Prince was uncovered, whilst the Queene & the Infanta looked out of the windowes, he uncovered his head or no: whether, sitting at Table wth the Prince, he did not behaue himselfe unreverently: whether he were not wont to come into the Princes Chamber wth his clothes halfe on, so as the doores could not be opened to them that came to visit the Prince frō the King of Spaine, the doore-keepers refusing to goe in for modesties sake: whether he did not call the Prince by ridiculous names: whether he did not dishonour and profane the Kings Palace wth base and contemptible women: whether he did not divers obscene things, & used not immodest gesticulaçons & wanton trickes wth players in the p'sence of the Prince: whether he did not violate his faith given to the Count of Olivares: whether he did not p'sently cōmunicate his discontents, offences, & complaints to the Emb^{rs} of other Princes: whether in the doing of his busynesses, he did not use frequent threatnings unto the Catholike Kings Ministers. & to the Apostolicall Nuncio: whether he did not affect to sitt at playes, presented in the Kings Palace, after the example of the King and Prince, being not content wth the hono^r wh^{ch} is ordinarily given to the High Steward (or Major-domo) of the Kings House.

Besides all these things, w^{ch} haue heretofore bene told yo^r Ma^{tie}, there is yet this more, that is new; That the D. of Buck. (with what intencōn let others judge) hath divulged in Parliam^t some secret treaties negotiated betwixt yo^r Ma^{tie} and the K. of Spaine touching the affairs of Holland: the secrecy whereof neverthelesse yo^r Ma^{tie} had so recōmended, that, besides the K. & the Count of Olivares no man in Spaine knew of it.

If the Duke doe not appeare guiltye of all these things, let him be still yo^r Ma^{ties} most faithfull servant, & let yo^r Ma^{tie} yet conferre upō him greater hono^{rs}, if yo^u can: ffor I would haue these things cōceived to be spoken for the securitye of yo^r Ma^{tie}, not for the hurt of him, to whom I wish prosperitie, if by him the Christian world might be in prosperitie.

It only remaineth, that yo^r Ma^{tie} will be pleased to take in good part this my service & obedience showed to yo^r cōmandem^{ts}.

*Ane Discourse made be a person of Honor to King Charles, touching
the Earl of Somerset and his Extraction.*

BEFORE I goe about to make knowen to your Majestie what this man hath done in your fathers service, I will first show you how his nature and his fortune sorted with that tyme in which he was imployed by him, whereby it will appeare that to bring forth such a one as he hath bene there must concurre as it were a constellation of so many meanes and causes as can hardly come again to meete in the person of any one man, and for this I have evidence to show you, whereof some part I have to fetch as high as from his ancestors, not that I thinke by relateing what they have done, or by the length of a pedigree, I shall be able to adde any great lustre to him of whom I have better things to speake, but because it is one of the things by which many use to assume to themselves a value who have nothing whereof to boast, but of what they had from their ancestors; I cannot therefore deny him the right which his birth hath conferred upon him, especially in that they passe with the world at so great a rate, and may give him also the meanes to shew what he is, even compared with those who vaunt themselves most of their beginnings: for of the family he is of, I fynde that for sundry ages together there was not any of more use to the service of that state than it hath bene: for by the neereness of their abode to the frontire parts of that kingdome, they were opposed to the invasions which were frequently made upon them from hence. Besides they were so neere to the place where the Courts of Justice and the King with his Court had their residence, as they, and some few onely that were upon the same distance, may be said (in those distempered tymes) to have put almost what fashion they would upon the government. I could goe on and inlarge my discourse farther upon this ground, and, to confirm what I have said here, I can also show that his great grandfather was Lo: Warden or Lieutenant of all the Countries of that side that bordered upon England, and which ever since that tyme hath bene parted in three or four divisions, which as many of the greatest subjects there have had in their charge

to looke unto, but this I will passe by and much more, because it is to my purpose cheefely to shewe what his parents have bene being they had occasion to act a part which conduced much to the fortune which he afterwards came unto, for their merit may be said to have preferred or rather predestinate him to that great place which none before him ever attayned unto but by meere favour; for, in those unquyet tymes when the farre greatest part of the nobility and people of that Kingdome had opposed themselves to the Govern^t of your grandmother Queene Mary, there did this Mans father take part with her Cause though in his religion he was not her way, neyther had he any enemies on the other side, nor was he enabled to serve her by any publicke charge or office, but by his owne proper forces only, and, with those he procured to be of her party, he may be sayd to have bene the meanes that it subsisted so long; and as he brought to her thus much in strength, so, after, when she was driven for her safety as shee conceived to quitt her Countrie and those that were for her there, then did he also suffer more then they did all, for he abode thirteen yeeres exyle and the losse of his whole estate; his woods were also cutt downe and spoyled, which were not only more then all of her side had to loose, but your Majestie may your selfe be able to make an estimat of what this might come unto, as also what he hath bene that is mentioned and meant here; where, of his part, it shall be sayd, that his parents had more taken from them in service of the Queene your Grandmother, then ever he had of your fathers gifts eyther in Lands or of Summes of Money, out of any of his receipts though he had three great Kingedomes to have gott it out of.

*Speech made to K. Charles be the E. of Somerset relating to
himselfe.*

THE Account which I shall have occasion to give now, or hereafter at any time, of the service I have done to the King his Majesties father, is not to be taken as from one that had an Office or Place to account for, my place about him, if I had any proper to me, it was

to intercede for his favours to such as might be held worthy of them, and to make easie the way to Suitors, but this Office whilst I served in it was of no great use; because all suites of benefit and whatsoever else was to be given, had been disposed of long before; the Lands of the Crowne had bene aliend and wasted by gifts, but a great deale more by exchanges and sales; wherefore instead of making suites for myself and others I found cause to intreate that his Majestic would think of the meanes how his owne estate might be repaired, and to stay his hand awhile from giving, but above all that he would put a stopp upon those suites which were made to him for hono^r or for the reversions of Offices, least in short tyme both he and his successors might finde themselves deprived of the meanes to rewarde those that might deserve best of them. Hereupon honor was sparingly given, for except one Baron made in Scotland, and another in Ireland, which was the Deputie there for the time, and the honor his Majestic was pleased to conferre upon me in this Kingdome, there were none made but these three, in all his dominions, for the space of almost thryce three yceres: nor from those restraints which I was a meanes to bring upon others did I seeke to get myselfe exempted: for though I might have been allowed for an exception to the generall rule, yet I was content to be an example of it, for so generall a good as I conceyved the King and the Kingdome might receive thereby: and that it was so, I have this to shewe; that I never had of gift from the King his Majesties father any cyther of his Crowne Land or Customs, nor yet any thing whereby cyther himselfe, or the publicke, or any other person sustained losse. As for suites, I never made any to him for my selfe, but I have refused and returned againe much of that he had given me, and withall I thinke I may say that whatsoever I had received at any time of his gyft, it cyther tooke nothing from himselfe or it brought ever an increase with it of so much more to him and to the Crowne, and as this will shewe that I had no share in the spoyle which had bene made of his Estate in the tyme before, so it will appeare that my whole endeavor afterwards was to helpe to preserve that which was left, and this was not to be done by opposinge myselfe to Suitors only, but to those to whom he had committed the care of

his affayres, which were then indeede more then ever out of frame, for his Majestie having appointed upon my Lord of Salisburys death certaine of his cheefe Officers to looke into his estate and to finde out meanes for the supply of his wants, which were then very pressing, they found, besides a debt of many hundred thousands, that his expense had exceeded his incommings, for divers yeeres before, more than a fourth part; for remedy whereof they had purposed to make use of two meanes especially, the one was to disaforest and disparke all of them that were not neere where the Kings sports lay, or about his cheefe houses, the other was by the sale of all his Lands to raise a great summe of money for payment of his debts, reserving only an increase of the rent they had payed before: but of both these I will take upon me to have made a stay at that tyme, and of some other of the same sort, for so many wayes were thought upon and propounded to fitt the occasion of that tyme, as I suppose there hath bene scarce any way since whereby his Majesties father or himselfe have had meanes to releve themselves out of their owne, or to bestowe upon others, which was not then in project to be made use of.

XXXV. *On the peaceable Justs, or Tiltings of the middle Ages,*
by Francis Douce, Esquire, F. S. A.

Read 2d December, 1813.

IN the very valuable republication of "Harrington's *Nugæ Antiquæ*," by Mr. Park, a member of this Society, there is to be found a document of considerable interest to those who delight in matters of ancient chivalry. It is entitled "The Ordinances, Statutes, and Rules made by John Lord Tiptofte, Earl of Worcester, Constable of England, anno sexto Edwardi quarti: to be observed or kept in all manner of *Justes of Peaces Royall* within this realme of England." Lord Orford, in his account of the above nobleman, speaking of this work as he found it in a manuscript formerly belonging to Mr. Ashmole, uses the words "*Justes of Peirs*;" and as both expressions have occasioned some trouble, though they have hitherto continued unexplained, I shall briefly attempt to throw some light upon the subject, and at the same time introduce an original Instrument that may possess some claim to the Society's attention.

If Mr. Ashmole's manuscript were inspected it would probably turn out that "*Justes of Peirs*" is a conjectural but misconceived reading of "*Justes of Pecis*." I have indeed very little doubt that *Justes of peaces*, or *pecis*, signify nothing more than those *peaceable* justs or tiltings that were performed for the amusement of the ladies and other spectators; and in which the successful knights received some prize or reward from the hand of a fair and courteous damsel. They were called by the French "*Joutes à plaisance*," and in the Latin of the middle ages "*Hastiludia pacifica*." They were performed with pointless lances or coronels, and were used in opposition to the real and sanguinary justs or tournaments, denominated "*Joutes à outrance*," or as Froissart calls them, "*Joustes mortelles et à champ*."

In Caxton's epilogue to "The book of the Ordre of Chyvalry or Knyghthode," he exclaims, "I wold it pleasyd our soverayne Lord that twyes or thryes in a yere, or at the lest ones, he wold do crye

Justes of pees, to thende that every knyght shold have hors and harneys, and also the use and craft of a knyght, and also to torne one ageynste one, or ij ageynst ij, and the best to have a prys, a dyamond, or jewel, such as shold please the prynce. Thys shold cause gentylmen to resorte to thauncyent customes of chyvalry, to grete fame and renōmee, and also to be alwey redy to serve theyr prynce whan he shalle calle them or have nede."

From a volume once belonging to Sir John Paston Knight, in the reign of Edward the fourth, and now in the Lansdowne collection of MSS. in the British Museum, I am enabled to give the whole of the ceremonial observed on these occasions. And first we have the proclamation of the Justs, as follows.

"To cry a justes of peas.

Wee herawldes of armes beryng sheeldes of devise, here we yeve in knowlege unto all gentilmen of name and of armys, that there bee VI gentilmen of name & of armes that for the grete desire & woorship that the seide VI gentilmen have taken upon them to bee the third day of May next coomyng before the high & mighty redowtid ladyes & gentilwoomen in this high & moost honourable court. And in their presence the seide sixe gentilmen there to appeer at IX of the klok before noone, & to juste ayenst all coomers without, the seide day, unto VI of the klok at aftir noone. And then, by the advyse of the seide ladyes & gentilwoomen, to yeve unto the best juster withoute a dyamaunde of XL li.

And unto the next beste juster a rubie of XX li. & to the thrid wele juster a saufir of X li. And on the seide day there beyng officers of armys shewyng their mesure of their speris garneste, that is cor-nall,^a vamplate,^b & grapers^c all of acise^d that they shall just with. And

^a Cornal, or coronel; the head of a tilting lance, so called from its resemblance to a little crown.

^b Vamplate. A round plate or shield of iron, fixed at the end of the tilting lance, to guard the hand.

^c Grapers. Hooks for the tilting lances. *Fr.* Agrafes.

^d Acise. Assize, or due proportion.

that the comers may take the length of the seide speris with the avise of the seide officers of armes that shall be indifferent unto all parties unto the seide day."

Then we have the particulars of the armour for horse and man, and all its appurtenances, under the title of

"Abilments^e for the Justus of Pees.

First an helme wele stuffid, with a creste of his devise.
 A peire of plates, and thritty gyders.^f
 An haustement^g for the body with sleevis.
 A botton with a tresse^h in the plates.
 A shelde coovirde with his devise.
 A rerebrakeⁱ with a roule of lethir wele stuffid.
 A maynefere^k with a ryngge.
 A rerebrace. A moton.^l
 A vambrace,^m and a gaynpayne,ⁿ and two brickettes.*
 And two dosen tresses, and VI vamplates.
 And XII grapers, and XII cornallys, and XL sperys.
 And an armerer with hamour and pynsons.^p
 And nailes with a bickorne.^q
 A good courster,^r and new shodd, with a softe bitte.

^e Abilments. Armour or harness; habiliments.

^f Gyders?

^g Haustement. A stiff under garment to keep the body straight and erect.

^h Tresse. Clasp. *Fr.*

ⁱ Rerebrake. Armour for the hind part of the arm. *Fr.* Arriere-bras

^k Maynefere. Armour for the horse's neck.

^l Moton?

^m Vambrace. Armour for the front of the arm. *Fr.* Avant-bras.

ⁿ Gaynpayne. This was the ancient name of the sword used at tournaments, from the *Fr.* Gagne-pain. The term continued in use to a late period, either for a sword or musket, as the symbol of the soldier's profession, by which *he got his bread*.

* Brickettes. A breast-plate. *Fr.* Brichet.

^p Pynsons. Pincers.

^q Bickorne. An anvil with a bickern or heak iron.

^r Courster. Courser.

And a grete halter for the reyne of the bridell.
 A sadill wele stuffid, and a peire of jambus.^a
 And iij double girthis with double bocles.
 And a double singull^b with doubul bokuls.
 And a rayne of lethir hungry tied fro the hors hede unto the
 girthis beeneth betwene the ferthir bouse^c of the hors
 for renasshyng.^d
 A rynnyng patrel.^e A croper of lethir hungrye.^f
 A trapper^g for the courster, & two servaunts on horsbak wele
 beseene.
 And VI servauntes on foote all in oon sute."

Next follows a description of

"The commynge into the felde.

The VI gentilmen must come into the felde unhernsyd, & their
 helmys borne before them, & their servaunts on horsbak, beryng
 aither of them a spere garneste, that is the seide VI speris which the
 seid VI servaunts shall ride before them into the felde; & as the seide
 VI gentilmen be coomyn before the ladyes & gentilwoomen. Than
 shall be sent an herowde of armys up unto the ladyes & gentilwoomen
 seying in this wise; high & mighty redoutyd & right worchyfull
 ladyes & gentilwoomen, theis VI gentilmen ben come into your pre-
 sence & recomaunde them all unto your gode grace in as lowly wise
 as they can, besechyng you for to geve unto [the] iij best justers with-
 out a diamonde, & a rubie, & a saufir unto them that ye thenk best
 can deserve it. Then this message is doon. Then the VI gentilmen

^a Jambes. Armour for the legs. *Fr.*

^b Stingull. Cingle, or horse-girth.

^c Bouse. Perhaps a boss, or round plate of metal, used to adorn the horse.

^d Renasshyng.

^e Patrel. Harness or armour for the horse's neck. *Fr.* Poitrel. But here it means breast-leather.

^f Lethir Hungrye. Hungary leather.

^g Trapper. Trappings.

goth into the tellws^a & doth on their helmys. And when the herawldis krye *à lostell*, *à lostell*,^b then shall all the VI gentilmen within unhelme them before the seide ladyes, & and make their obeisaunce, & goo home unto their logging & and chaunge the . . . ^c

“ Nowe be coomyn the gentilwoomen without into the presence of the ladies.

Then comys foorth a lady by the avise of all the ladyes and gentilwoman, & yevis the diamonde unto the best juster withoute, saying on this wise, Sir theis ladyes & gentilwomen thank you for your disporte & grete labour that ye have this day in their presence. And the saide ladyes & gentilwomen seyen that ye have best just this day. Therefore the seide ladyes & gentilwomen geven you this diamounde & send you much worshup & joy of your lady. Thus shall be doon with the rubie, & with the saufre, unto the othir two next the best justers. This doon, than shall the heraude of armys stonde up all an high, & shall sey withall an high voice, John hath wele justid, Ric. hath justid bettir, and Thomas hath justid best of all.

Than shall hee that the diamount is geve unto take a lady by the hande, & begynne the daunce. And whan the ladyes have dauncid as long as them liketh, than spyce wyne and drynk, and than avoide.”

And here terminates the ceremonial that relates to the Justs in question. The following documents from the same volume, likewise connected with single combats, are not less curious, in their way, than the preceding.

^a Tellws. Tilt-house?

^b Lostell. The cry of the heralds to the combatants, that they should return to their dwellings. The historian Halle, speaking of the tournaments held at Guisnes for the amusement of Henry VIII. and Francis I. says, “ Then began a new encounter hard and sore, many of them bare great strokes of the Kinges, to their honor: when these bendes were delivered the heraldes cryed *à lostel*, and the princes them disarmed, and went to lodgyng.”

^c The transcriber seems to have left this part unfinished.

“ How a Man shal be armede at his ease when he shall fight on Foote.

He shall have noone sherte upon him, but a doublet offff ustian lynid with satin, kut full of holis; the doublet must be streightly bounde there y^e poynts must be sett aboute the grete of the arme, and the best before and behynde, & the gussets of mail must be sowid unto the doublet into the bought^d of the arme and under the arme, the armyng poynts must be made of fyne twyne such as men make streengs for crosbowis, and they must be trussid small and poyntid as points; also they must be waxid with cordeners wax, & then they will neither recche^e ne breke; also a peir hosen of stamyn^f single, and a peir short bulworks of thyn blanket to put aboute his knees for chawfyng of his leg harneis; also a peire of shone of thyk cordewayne, and they must be fret with small whipcorde, iij knotts upon a corde, and iij cordis must be faste sowed unto y^e^g of the shoo & fyne cordis in the myddil of the sole of the same shoo, and that there bee betwene the frettis^h of the hele and the frettis of the myddill of the shoo the space of iij fyngers.

To arme a Man.

First ye must set on sabotynesⁱ and tye them upon the shoo with small poynts that will breke, and than Griffus;^k and than Quysshews;^l and than the breche of maile; and than towletts;^m than the breste; than the vambrace; than the rerebrace; than the cloovis;ⁿ and than hong his dagger upon the right side; than his short swerde, on his left side in a rounde ring, all nakid to pull it oute lightly; than put

^d Bought of tharme. The bending of the arm.

^e Recche. Stretch.

^f Stamyn. Or tamine, *Fr.* a sort of stuff.

^g So in MS.

^h Frettis. Ornaments of the fillet kind.

ⁱ Sabatynes. Slippers or clogs?

^k Griffus. Greaves, armour for the legs.

^l Quysshews. Cuisses, *Fr.* Armour for the thighs.

^m Towletts *Q.* Toilettas *Fr.*? Small pieces of linen for stuffing the armour

ⁿ Cloovis. Gloves, gauntlets?

his cote upon his bak, and than his basenet^o pynned upon two grete staples before the breste, with a double bocle behynde upon the bak, for to make the bacenet sit juste; and than his long swerde in his hande; than his pensell^p in his honde, poyntid of Seynt George, or of our Lady, to blisse him with as he goth towardis the felde, and in the felde."

The Day that the Appellaunt and the Defendaunt shall Fight, what the shall have with them into the feelde.

A tent must be pight ^a in the felde,	Also a glas with a drynke made,
Also a chaire,	Also a dosen trisses of armyng
Also a basyn,	poyntes,
Also VI loves of bred,	Also an hamour, pynsons, & a
Also VI galons of wyne,	bycorne,
Also a messe of mete, fleshe or	Also a dosen of smale nailes
fishe,	Also a long swerd, & a short, & a
Also a borde & a peir trestils to	dagger,
ete on his mete and his drynk,	Also a kerchief to hele ^r y ^e vi-
Also a bord cloth,	sour of his basnet,
Also a knyf to kut his mete,	Also a pensel to bere in his
Also a cupp to drynk in,	hande of his avowrye." [*]

FRANCIS DOUCE.

^o Basenet. A light helmet or head-piece shaped like a bason.

^p Pensell. A small pennon, or flag.

^a Pight. Pitched.

^r Hele. Cover.

^{*} Arowrye. Cognizance, badge, distinction.

XXXVI. *Copy of a Roll of Purchases made for the Tournament of Windsor Park, in the sixth year of King Edward the first, preserved in the Record Office at the Tower. Communicated by Samuel Lysons, Esq. F.R.S. V.P. in a Letter to Nicholas Carlisle, Esq. Secretary.*

Read 17th Feb. 1814.

DEAR SIR,

- King's Bench Walks,
15th Feb. 1814.

I ENCLOSE the copy of a Roll, preserved in the Record Office at the Tower, containing an account of a great variety of articles provided for a Tournament, held in Windsor Park, in the month of July, the sixth year of the reign of King Edward the first. This tournament appears to have been one of those termed peaceable Justs, lately described in Mr. Douce's interesting paper, to which the contents of this Roll may serve as a supplement.

The Roll is written on two membranes, and contains two accounts, the first being of articles purchased by the hands of Adinett the taylor; and under the inspection of Albini and Robert de Dorset, entitled, "Emptiones facte per manum Adinetti Cissoris et visu Albini & Roberti de Dorset contra Torniammentum de Parco de Windsore, nono die Julii anno sexto." The second is an account of purchases made at Paris for the King and Queen, and their children, by the same Adinett.

In the account of the armour to be provided, appear the following names of the several knights, thirty-eight in number, twelve of whom are styled digniores. The Earl of Cornwall, with a companion; the Earl of Gloucester;^a the Earl of Warren; the Earl of Lincoln; Wil-

^a Three of these Knights, namely, the Earl of Gloucester, the Earl of Lincoln, and William de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, in conjunction with the King's eldest son, Prince Edward, and his brother Edmund Earl of Lancaster, appear to have had a few years afterwards the chief superintendence of Tournaments. For in the Statuta de Armis, sometimes intitled Sta-

liam de Valence; the Lord Robert Tibetot, Roger de Clifford, Hugh Fitz-Otho, William de Monte Reuelli, Pagan, and Patricius de Cadurcis, — de Pontist, Giles de Fenes, Walter de la Hide, John de Wanlope, John de Britannia, Amadis de Sabaudia, with two companions, — Bonfillard, Gerard de St. Laurence, Walter Beek, Roger de Trumpington, Berth. de Breanzon, William de Gonevile, W. Ernaldi, W. de Hauteresham, Walter Garcelini, Walter de St. Martin, Rob. Johannis, G. de Picheford, Geoffry Gopil, Andrew de Rat, and Peter Picot. Several of these appear to have been foreigners. Of the English, the greater part were of high rank and distinguished for their martial exploits, and several of them nearly allied to the King. Edmund Earl of Cornwall was the King's cousin, son of his uncle Richard King of the Romans, and at this time must have been about thirty years of age, having received knighthood in the fifty-fifth year of Henry III. when he was of age. Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Glou-

tutum armorum in Torniamenis, which must have been made about the year 1295, it is said, that if any earl, or baron, or other knight, should go against that statute, such knight, by assent of all the baronage, should lose horse and harness, and abide in prison at the pleasure of our Lord Sir Edward, the King's son, and Sir Edmund, the King's brother, Sir William de Valence, Sir Gilbert de Clare, and the Earl of Lincoln.

The late Mr. Daines Barrington, in his *Observations on the more ancient Statutes*, observes, that this statute "may very well merit the attention of the herald or the reader of ancient romances, as there are a great many terms used in it, which relate to chivalry and armour." It will be found in the *Statutes of the Realm* lately published by order of his Majesty's Commissioners on the public Records, printed from a manuscript in the Bodleian library, with various readings from the printed copies. The date of it has been considered as wholly uncertain; yet it appears to me that it could not have been far distant from that which I have ventured to assign it, on the following grounds. The names mentioned in it of Edward the King's son and Edmund his brother, might have served for the reign of King Edward the third, and so might those of Gilbert de Clare, and the Earl of Lincoln; but William de Valence, the Earl of Pembroke, who died in 1296, was the last of his family of that name: and as the Earl of Gloucester died in 1295, and Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster, in 1296, the statute could not have been of a later date than 1295.

By the above mentioned statute it is provided that no knight or esquire, serving at the tournament, should bear a sword pointed, or dagger pointed, or staff, or mace, but only a broad sword for turneyng: and all that bear banners should be armed with mufflers, and cuishes, and, *shoulder-plates*, and a scull-cap, without more.

cester, was one of the most powerful barons of his time, and a distinguished warrior, who a few years afterwards married Joan of Acre, the King's daughter. John Earl of Warren was nearly allied to the King, having married Alice, sister by the mother's side to King Henry the third, being her daughter by the Earl of March, her second husband. William de Valence (Earl of Pembroke) was the King's uncle, being the son of his grandmother, Queen Isabella, by her second husband.

Many of the Knights whose names appear on this roll had been with King Edward in the crusade. Pain de Chaworth (de Cadurcis) who possessed the barony of Kempsford in Gloucestershire, was signed with the cross in the fifty-fourth year of King Henry III. together with his brother Patric, whose name also appears on this roll, and accompanied Prince Edward to the Holy Land, as no doubt did Roger de Trumpington, who is represented as a crusader on his grave-stone in Trumpington church, Cambridgeshire. Robert de Tibetot was a faithful servant to King Edward the First for many years, and attended him in the Holy Land; he was much employed in military affairs till the time of his death, which happened in the twenty-sixth year of that King. It appears also by the Clause Roll 54, Henry III. that Roger de Clifford attended Prince Edward to the Holy Land. John de Britannia, no doubt, was the Earl of Richmond, and Duke of Britany, who had licence from the King to go to the Holy Land the following year.^b

Armour (*Hernesium de armis*) was provided for all the knights. It appears to have been of leather gilt; and various sums, from 7s. to 25s. were paid for making and gilding each suit, to the three persons employed, Cosmo the tailor, Salvag' the tailor, and Reymunde de Burdieus. At the end of this item of the account, there is a memorandum, stating that each suit of armour consisted of a tunic, a sur-

^b In the various royal grants to him, entered on the patent and other rolls, he is sometimes styled 'Johannes de Britannia, Comes Richemundiæ, sometimes Dux Britannia and Comes Richmundiæ; and sometimes simply, as on this roll, Johannes de Britannia.

coat, a pair of ailettes,^c a crest, a shield, a helmet of leather, and a sword of balon.^d

The sum of three shillings was paid for the carriage of the armour from London.

The shields were of wood, and provided by Stephen the joiner at 5d. each. Peter the furbisher provided the thirty-eight swords, made of balon and parchment, at 7d. apiece, and was paid 25s. for silvering them, and 3s. 6d. for gilding the pomels and hilts with pure gold.

Ralph de la Hay received 12s. for gilding with pure gold twelve helmets for the knights of the highest rank; and for silvering the remainder, 17s. 4d. being after the rate of 8d. each.

Milo the currier furnished thirty-eight head-pieces of leather, resembling horses heads, at 2s. each; and thirty-eight pair of little wings of leather at 8d. the pair. Richard Paternoster provided eight hundred little bells, sixteen skins for making bridles, and half a horse's skin for cruppers, and twelve dozen silken cords for tying on the ailettes. Seventy-six calf skins were provided for making the crests.

The sum total of the articles provided in England, was fourscore pounds eleven shillings and eight pence.

The articles procured from Paris consisted chiefly of furs of various kinds, for the use of the royal family, the King's couch, the Queen's mantle, &c. amounting in the whole to 608l. 18s. 6d. of Paris. Canvass, fine linen, towells, &c. amounting to 130l. 18s. 6d. Saddles richly embroidered with gold and silver, eight of them with the arms of England, and others with those of the knights, and two for the

^c Par allet', from ailette, a little wing: these, no doubt, are the singular appendages to the shoulders, which appear on the monumental effigies and other representations of the knights of this period, and are to be seen on that of Roger de Trumpington, whose name occurs in this roll.

^d Probably a sword wrapped round with woollen list or cloth, for the purpose of blunting its edge. Ducange voce Balenja, says, "Armoricis hodie *Balen* vell *Ballen*, lecti operimentum laneum." J. B.

King's mule, amounting to 280l. 14s. 2d. Among the minute articles are half a dozen pair of double gloves, which cost 35s. and the same quantity of buckskin gloves for the King, 60s. Two ivory combs for the King, 32s. 8d. Four green and three red carpets for the King's chamber, 28l. A velvet covering for the head of the King's bed, 100s. A cloth dyed in grain for the Lord Alphonso,^e 40l. Two tire-teyns mixt in grain, 78l. 15s.

For Robinet's expences with the King's robe from Paris to Glastonbury, with the hire of his horse, 20s.^f

The sum total of the expences at Paris was 1429l. 5s. of Paris, being 1781l. 7s. 9d. $\frac{1}{2}$ Tournois, and 447l. 12s. 5d. sterling.

The notes on this roll, which I inclose, signed J. B. were communicated to me by our late Secretary, Mr. Brand, a short time before his death.

I remain, dear Sir,

Your very obedient faithful Servant,

SAMUEL LYSONS.

TO NICHOLAS CARLISLE, Esq.
Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries.

^e Alphonso was the King's eldest son, who died soon afterwards.

^f We read in Stowe's Chronicle, A. D. 1278, sixth of Edward I. "In the month of April the King, the Queen, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, with their traines, took their journey toward Glastonbury, and there sojourned, where the King caused the tomb of Artour to be opened, whose bones he caused to be removed out of the said tomb, to behold the length and bignes of them, and then returned to London." p. 200. J. B.

Empciones facte p manum Adinetti Cissoř & visu Albini & Rořti de Dorset cont' Torniamet'
de Parco de Windeř Nono die Julij Anno Sexto.

Vacat q egid' respon- det de ista pti- cula - -	D Boneroncino de luč L. Cindoñ de Cursu p'č Cindoñ - - - - - vj. s. viij. d.	š—xvj. ti. xij. s. iiij d.	} Sñ-xxvj. ti. vj. s.
	D Eodem viij. Diaspeř p'č peč viij. s. - -	š—Lxiiij. s.	
	D Eodem x. peč Bukeram p'č peč. v. s. -	š—L. s.	
	D Eodem ccxxj. vlñ Carđ p'č vlñ. iiij. d.	š—Lxxiiij. s. viij. d.	
	D Eodem xx. vlñ Camb' p'č vlñ. iij. d. -	š—v. s.	
}	D Miloñ le Cuireuř. xxxviij. quireč p'č peč iij. s. - - - - -	š—cxiiij. s.	} Sñ-x. ti. xv. s. iiij. d.
	D Eodem xxxviij. copita coř de similitud' capič equoř p'č peč ij. s. - - - - -	š—Lxxvj. s.	
	D Eodem xxxviij. pař aleč coř p'č pař. viij. d. - - - - -	š—xxv. s. iiij. d.	
De Rob'o Erunnler xxxviij. galee de coř p'č galee xvj. d. - - - - -		š—L. s. vj. d.	} Sñ-pat'
De Stephō Junctoř xxxviij. algee fustiñ p Crupeř vj. s. iiij. d. - - - - -		š—vj. s. iiij. d.	} Sñ-xxxiiij. s. x. d.
Eidem p fčur dčoz Crupeř xij. s. viij. d. -		š—xij. s. viij. d.	
De Eodem xxxviij. scuť fustiñ p'č scuti. v. d.		š—xv. s. x. d.	
De Henř de Hoppedemery. Lxxvj. pař Chaston & claū p'č pař iij. d. - - -		š—xix. s.	} Sñ-xxxviij. s.
D Eodem Lxxvj. pell' vitul' p cresť fa- ciend' p'č pell'. iij. d. - - - - -		š—xix. s.	
D Ricō pat' nř DCCC. Nolař sive Tintuna- bul' p'č cent. iij. s. - - - - -		Sñ-xxiiij. s.	} Sñ-xxxv. s. iiij. d.
D Eodem xvj. pell' ad faciend' fren' & Coř p quireč p'č pell' iij. d. - - - - -		Sñ-iiij. s.	
D Eodem dimid' Coř equi ad faciend' Coř ad Crupeř ij. s. - - - - -		Sñ-ij. s.	
D Eodem viij. Duoden laqueoř serič p aletč p'č duoden viij. d. - - - - -		Sñ-v. s. iiij. d.	
D Petro le Furbeuř xxxviij. glad' facč de Baleñ & Parcomeñ p'č peč vij. d. - -		Sñ-xxij. s. ij. d.	} Sñ Lxiiij. s. iiij. d.
Itm p Batuř dčoz glad' de argent' xxv. s.		Sñ-xxv. s.	
Itm p Batuř pomell' & hilč eořd' de auro puř iij. s. vj. d. - - - - -		Sñ-iiij. s. vj. d.	
Itm p fčur & pictuř xxxviij. pař Brach' de Bokeran p'č pař iiij. d. - - - - -		Sñ-xij. s. viij. d.	

Itm Raðo de la Haye p Batuř xij. galeaž
de eisd̄m de auro puř p dingmoř arm
preç galee. xij. d. - - - - -
Eidem p Batuř xxvj gal' de eisd̄m de ar-
gento p'c gal' viij. d. - - - - -

S̄m-xij. s.

S̄m-xvij. s. iiij. d.

S̄m-xxix. s.
iiij. d.

Cosino
Cissori

D Cusino Cissoř p Batuř & custur j. Herñ
de Arm Comiř Warrenñ xxv. s. - - -
Eidm p Batuř j. Herneř de armis Rog'i de
Clifford. xxv. s. - - - - -
Eidm p Batuř j. Herneř de Arm Huğ fil'
Othoñ xxiiij. s. - - - - -
Eidm p Batuř j. Herneř de Arm Witti de
Monte reuelli xxiiij. s. - - - - -
Eidm p Batuř j. Herneř de Arm Comiř
Cornub' xx. s. - - - - -
Eidm p Batuř j. Herneř de Arm Dñi D.
Tibetot xviiij. s. - - - - -
Eidm p Batuř j. Herneř de Arm Pagani de
Cadurc̄ xx. s. - - - - -
Eidem p Batuř j. Herneř de Arm Patricij
de Cadurc̄ xx. s. - - - - -

S̄m-xxv. s.

S̄m-xxv. s.

S̄m-xxiiij. s.

S̄m-xxiiij. s.

S̄m-xx. s.

S̄m-xviiij. s.

S̄m-xx. s.

S̄m-xx. s.

S̄m-viiij. ti.
xiiij. s.

Salvağ
Cissoř

Pro Batuř Herneř de Arm de Pontifc̄.
xvj. s. - - - - -
Pro Batuř j. Herneř de Arm Egid' de Fenes.
xvij. s. iiij. d. - - - - -
Pro Batuř j. Herneř de Arm Walt'i de la
Hide. xiiij. s. - - - - -
Pro Batuř j. Herneř de Arm Joñis de Wan-
loř. xvj. s. iiij. d. - - - - -
Pro Batuř j. Herneř p socio Joñis de Bri-
tanñ xvj. s. - - - - -
Pro Batuř j. Herneř de Arm Amad' de Saub'.
xxvij. s. - - - - -
Pro Batuř ij. Herneř p duobus sociis ejusd̄m
xxvij. s. - - - - -
Pro Batuř j. Herneř de Arm Bonfillard.
vij. s. - - - - -
Pro Batuř j. Herneř de Arm Gerard' de
sco Lauř. xj. s. - - - - -
Pro Batuř j. Herneř de Arm Comiř Lin-
colñ. xxxiiij. s. iiij. d. - - - - -
Pro Batuř j. Herneř de Arm Walt'i Beek.
xiiij. s. - - - - -
Pro Batuř j. Herneř de Arm Rog'i de
Trumpetoñ. xix. s. - - - - -

S̄m-xvj. s.

S̄m-xvij. s. iiij. d.

S̄m-xiiij. s.

S̄m-xvj. s. iiij. d.

S̄m-xvi. s.

S̄m-xxvij. s.

S̄m-xxvij. s.

S̄m-vij. s.

S̄m-xj. s.

S̄m-xxxiiij. s. iiij. d.

S̄m-xiiij. s.

S̄m-xix. s.

S̄m-xij. ti.
xiiij. s.
iiij. d.

Rey- mũde de Burdeus	Pro Batuř j. Herneř de Arm Berth' de		
	Breauuzoñ. xvj. s. iiij. d.	- - - -	Sñ-xvj. s. iiij. d.
	Pro Batuř j. Herneř de Arm Witt' de		
	Goneville. xx. s.	- - - -	Sm-xx. s.
	Pro Batuř j. Herneř de Arm Comiř Glov'n.		
	xxv. s.	- - - -	Sñ-xxv. s.
	Pro Batuř j. Herneř de Arm W. de Valenç.		
	xx. s.	- - - -	Sñ-xx. s.
	Pro Batuř j. Herneř de Arm W. Ernaldi.		
	xxij. s.	- - - -	Sñ-xxij. s.
	Pro Batuř j. Herneř de Arm W. de Ha-		
	vereshm. xij. s.	- - - -	Sm-xij. s.
	Pro Batuř j. Herneř de Arm Walt'i Gace-		
	lini. vij. s.	- - - -	Sm-vij. s.
	Pro Batuř j. Herneř de Arm. Walt'i de sço		
	Martino. vij. s.	- - - -	Sñ-vij. s.
	Pro Batuř j. Herneř de Arm Rob'ti Johiř.		
	xxv. s.	- - - -	Sñ-xxv. s.
	Pro Batuř j. Herneř de Arm socij Comit'		
	Cornub'. xij. s.	- - - -	Sñ-xij. s.
	Pro Batuř j. Herneř de Arm G. de Piche-		
	ford'. xxv. s.	- - - -	Sñ-xxv. s.
	Pro Batuř j. Herneř de Arm Galfř Gopil.		
	vij. s.	- - - -	Sñ-vij. s.
	Pro Batuř j. Herneř Andř de Rat. ix. s.		
	vij. d.	- - - -	Sñ-ix. s. viij. d.
	Pro Batuř j. Herneř de Arm Petr Piccot.		
	xij. s.	- - - -	Sñ-xij. s.

Sñ-ix. ti.
v. s.
viij. d.

M^d qđ in quo p hneř fu'unt j. Tunic'ařm j. cooptoř j. pař alett. Itm ij. Crest & j. Blazoñ & una
galeac oř & j. ensis de Balon.

Itm p cariağ tocius hneř supradçi de Lond' usq parcam iiij. s. Sñ-iiij. s. } Sñ-vj. s.
Itm p stipend' v. garç seqñ dçm Herneř iiij. s. - - - Sñ-iiij. s.

Sñ Toř - - - ^{xx}iiij. ti. xj. s. viij. d.

S'allocanda p'ç p'mam pticulam rotuli-Liiij. ti. v. s. viij. d.

Sñ-L. Cind.

L Cindoñ strict
viij. Diaspr
x. Bukeranñ
ccxxj. vlñ card

xx. vlñ canob'

j. Cind' & qřř ps Cind'
Iř p iiij. cooptoř p.iiij^{or}. Comiř ii. Cind' & dī.
Iř p qualibet quirett ij. ulñ card, š Lxxvj. ulñ.
Iř p xxxiiij. cooptoř. s. p unoq ij. ulñ. dī card.
š. Cxix. ulñ. card.
Iř p xxxviij. pař alett š. p q pař dī ulñ card.
š. xix. ulñ.

S ^m total'	xxxviiij. quiretē	D quilz liber p q ^o l ^z hñes	S ^m tocus Card. lib. CC.xiiij. uln card & s d ₃
	xxviiij. capit equin		Adinetē respondere de vij. uln card.
	xxxviiij. pañ alettar		Iñ p eisd' hñes armand' viij. diaspeř.
	xxxviiij. gal.		Iñ p xxxviiij. pañ brach x. bukeranñ.
	xxxviiij. croupañ equin		Iñ p uno q ^o hñes j. galia. s. xxxviiij. gať.
	xxxviiij. scuť.		Iñ p qualibet galea. j. cresta. } S ^m . Lxxvj. Crest.
	Lxxvj. pañ chastoñ.		Iñ p quolz equo j. cresta. }
	Lxxvj. pañ clauoñ.		Iñ p qualz cresta j. pañ chastoñ & j. Clauoñ.
	Lxxvj. pett rud' pcameni.		Iñ p qualz cresta j. pell' parcamenē rud'.
	Dccc. Campnoll'.		Iñ p xxxviiij. hñes predēis Dccc. Campnoll.
	xvj. pell' alb.		Iñ p coreis ad ligand' quir & equos xvj. pell' alb'.
	dī coř equin.		Iñ dī coř equi.
	viij. duoden' laquei serič.		Iñ ad ligand' Lxxvj. aleč. viij. duod'. laq seř
	xxxviiij. pañ Brach'.		Iñ p xxxviiij. hñes xxxviiij. glad.
	xxxviiij. glad.		Iñ ad trussand' dēm hñes. xx. uln Canob'.

Examinat' p Egidiū. Annus sextus.

Empčones fče Pariš p Adenetē Cissoř anno ř.ř. Edwardi sexto.

Minut	De Johanna la Fowacere xxxij. mapp p'c mappe	S ^m -xxxvi. ti. xvj. s. P'is.
	xxiiij. s. Pariš - - - - -	
	D Eadem x. mapp p'c mapp xvj. s. - - - - -	
	D Eadem xij. duodeñ Tuall' p'c duodeñ. xxx s.	
	D Eadem iij. duodeñ Gardenañ p'c duodene.	
	xxxiiij. s. - - - - -	
	D Eadem CC. uln tele Burgenš p'c vlñ. iij. s. vi d.	
	D Eadem vj. uln tele delicate p Theñ Reğ p'c	
	vlñ xvj. s. - - - - -	
	D Eadem iij. mapp p'c Lxxvj. s. - - - - -	
	D Eadem Liiij. vlñ tele Burgenš p'c vlñ iij. s.	
	D Eadem ij. duodeñ Tuall' p'c Lviiij. s. - - - - -	
	D Eadem p vapulačone & replicačone ptič'laž	
	p'dčaz v. s. - - - - -	
	D Eadem p canob & grošs tela ad trussand' dčas	S ^m -Cxxx ti. xviij. s. vj. d.
	ptič. viij. ti. iij. s. vj. d. P'is.	

S^m. CLxiiij. ti. xj. s. j. d. Turoñ.

De Guill'mo le Mastin. ij. fuř m'v' p'c. xiiij. ti.	S ^m -xiiij. ti. x. s.
x. s. Parš - - - - -	
D Eodem. j. fuř grīš ad manič Reğ. p'c C s. P'is	
D Eodem. iij. capoñ m'v' p'c iij. ti. P'is. - - -	
D Eodem. j. fuř m'v' p incremento rob' Reğ.	
p'c. C s. P'is. - - - - -	
D Eodem. ij. peñ m'v' p Regina. p'c xxij. ti. P'is.	
D Eodem. iij. ourles de geneť p mantell' Re ^{ne}	
p'c xxx. s. - - - - -	
	S ^m -xxx. s.

D Eodem. vj. fuř m'v' p'č xxxvj. ti.	- -	Sñ-xxxvj. ti.
D Eodem. xxij. fuř m'v' p'č Cxxxij. ti.	-	Sñ-Cxxxij. ti.
D Eodem. vj. fuř gr' v' p'č xxxvj. ti.	- -	Sñ xxxvj. ti.
D Eodem. vj. fuř optimi gr's p'č xlvij. ti.	-	Sñ xlvij. ti.
D Eodem. ij. peñ gr's p'č. xxx. ti.	- - -	Sñ xxx. ti.
D Eodem. ij. peñ m'v' p'č. xxv. ti.	- -	Sñ-xxv. li.
D Eodem. j. pellič m'v' & j. de gr's p'č xxiiij. ti.	- - - - -	Sñ-xxiiij. ti.
D Eodem. j. coopt m'v' & j. gr's p'č Lxiiij. ti.	-	Sñ-Lxiiij. ti.
D Eodem. xij. capon m'v'. vj. gr' v' & vj. gr's. p'č. xiiij. ti.	- - - - -	Sñ-xiiij. ti.
D Eodem. ij. pellič ventř Cimič p'č ix. ti. x. s. p Regina	- - - - -	Sñ-ix. ti. x. s.
D Eodem. j. peñ ventř Cimič. p'č. C. s. p Regina	- - - - -	Sñ-C. s.
D Eodem. iiij. pellič cruř lopoř p'č vj. ti. p Regina & filar'	- - - - -	Sñ-vj. ti.
D Eodem. j. coopt gr's p'č. xvj. ti.	- -	Sñ-xvj. ti.
D Eodem. j. coopt gr's. p'č. xij. ti.	- -	Sñ-xij. ti.
D Eodem. j. coopt gr's. p'č. x. ti.	- - -	Sñ-x. ti.
D Eodem. j. coopt gr's. p'č. vj. ti.	- - -	Sñ-vj. ti.
D Eodem. ij. peñ m'v'. p'č. xij. ti.	- - -	Sñ xij. ti.
D Eodem. ij. peñ gr' v'. p'č. x. ti.	- - -	Sñ-x. ti.
D Eodem. ij. fuř m'v'. p'č. ix. ti.	- - -	Sñ-ix. ti.
D Eodem. ij. fuř gr' v'. p'č. ix. ti.	- - -	Sñ-ix. ti.
D Eodem. ij. fuř r' v'. p'č. vj. ti.	- - -	Sñ-vj. ti.
D Eodem. ij. fuř r' v'. p'č Cx. s.	- - -	Sñ-C. x. s.
D Eodem. ij. fuř pople. p'č. vj. ti.	- - -	Sñ-vj. ti.
D Eodem. ij. fuř rossēkin. p'č. Lxiiij. s.	-	Sñ-Lxiiij. s.
D Eodem. ij. fuř pople. p'č. vj. ti. x. s.	- -	Sñ-vj. ti. x. s.
D Eodem. j. Coopt. de foynes p lecto R. p'č. xvj. ti. viij. s.	- - - - -	Sñ-xvj. ti. viij. s.

Sñ.-Dec. Lx. ti. ij. s. vj. d. Turoñ.

D Felis Le Seler. viij. sell' de arm Angt. p'č. Lxiiij. ti. P'is.	- - - - -	Sñ-Lxiiij. ti.
D Eodem. iiij. sell' p cursař p'č. xiiij. ti.	-	Sñ-xiiij. ti.
D Eodem. xij. sell' p xij. cursař. p'č. xxxvj. ti.	- - - - -	Sñ-xxxvj. ti.
D Eodem. iiij. selle brond' de filo auri & argēñ tract videlicet vna de arm Rob'ti Tibeto vna de arm Johis de Neele. j. de arm Lub'ti Guidonis & vna de arm.	-	
Comitis Cornub' p'č iiij. viij. ti.	- -	Sñ-iiij. viij. ti.
D Eodem. j. sella brond' eodem modo de arm Johis de Grely. ē scalop argēt' p'č. xxxviij. ti.	-	

Sñ-DC. viij. ti.
ij. s.
piš.

D Eodem. iiij. selle fustine cū coop̃t ca- mošs. p'č. xiiij. li. - - - - -	Sñ-xiiij. li.	} Sñ-CC. ^{xx} iiij. li. xiiij. s. ij. d. Pariš.
D Eodem. j. sella soñ. p'č. xxx. s. - - -	Sñ-xxx s.	
D Eodem. ij. paria cingul'. & ij. pař sup cing. v. s. - - - - -	Sñ-v. s.	
D Eodem. vj. linč coř p sex sellis p'č. xix. s. ij. d. - - - - -	Sñ-xix. s. ij. d.	
D Eodem. iiij. scutiçe brond de arñ Angl' p iiij. sell' fustinis. p'č. xl. s. - - -	Sñ-xl. s.	
D Eodem. ij. sell' bastard' camoyss. p'č. viiij. li. - - - - -	Sñ-viiij. li.	
D Eodem. ij. selle rub' & una vir' bas- tard. p'č. vij. li. - - - - -	Sñ-vij. li.	
D Eodem. ij. selle ad mulum Reğ p'č. vij. li.	Sñ-vij. li.	

C
Sñ. in Turoñ. iiij. L. li. xvij. s. viij. d. ob. in Turoñ.

De Stepño de Perone iiij. paria Lorenñ de serič p iiij. sell'. p'č. xxij. li. - - -	Sñ-xxij. li.	} Sñ. Lxxi. li. xv. s. Pař.
D Eodem. xj. pař strep̃ & xj. pectoral' deaurať. p'č. xxij. li. - - - - -	Sñ.-xxij. li.	
D Eodem. iiij. paria Lorenñ de coř. p'č. vj. li. - - - - -	Sñ-vj. li.	
D Eodem. viij. paria Chevetenes & viij. pař lorenñ deaur. p'č. viij. li. - - -	Sm-viiij. li.	
D Eodem. vj. paria strep̃ & vj. pectoral' p cursař. p'č. Lx. s. - - - - -	Sñ-Lx. s.	
D eodem. iiij. freñ cū pectoř & strepis de corea. p'č. vj. li. - - - - -	Sñ-vj. li.	
D eodem. ij. freñ. ij. pectoř & ij. štrep̃ deaur. p'č. iiij. li. - - - - -	Sñ-iiij. li.	
D eodem. j. Renga p scuto dñi Alfonsi. p'č. xv. s. - - - - -	Sñ-xv. s.	

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Sñ. iiij. ix. li. xiiij. s. ix. d. Turoñ.

minut	D. Thoma le Gaunter. ij. duoden cyroth' cerviñ p asturcař. p'č. x. li. - - -	Sñ-x. li.	} Sñ-xxx. li. xv. s. vj. d. Pař.
	D Eodem. ij. duoden cyroth' p Falconař. p'č. C. s. - - - - -	Sñ-C. s.	
	D Eodem. di duoden cyroth' geminať p Rege. p c. xxxv. s. - - - - -	Sñ-xxxv. s.	
	D Eodem. di. duoden cyroth' cerviñ p Rege. p'č. Lx. s. - - - - -	Sñ-Lx. s.	
	D Eodem. iiij. duoden Tuall'. p'č. vj. li. -	Sñ-vj. li.	
	D Eodem. ij. vlñ. di Tele valde delicať p then Reğ. p'č. xxxiiij. s. - - - - -	Sñ-xxxiiij. s.	

minuť	{	D eodem. C. casei de Bria p Rege & Re ^{na}			
		p'č. xxxv. s. - - - - -	Sñi-xxxv. s.		
pTuron'	{	D eodem. ij. pectiñ eboř p Rege. p'č.			
		xxxij. s. vj. d. - - - - -	Sñi-xxxij. s. vj. d.		
		Sñi. xxxviiij. ti. ix. s. iiij. d. ob'. Turoñ.			
minuť	{	De Joñne Martel. j. saunt' rub' p quis-			
		sinis p'č. xxviiij. ti. - - - - -	Sñi-xxviiij. ti.		
minuť	{	D Eodem j. saunt' viř p sell' supradčis. p'č.			
		xv. ti. - - - - -	Sñi-xv. ti.		
minuť	{	D Eodem p filo & serico. xviiij. s. - - -	Sñi-xviiij. s.		
		D Eodem. iiij. Tapeť viř & iiij. rub' p Cam'a			
minuť	{	Reğ. p'č. xxviiij. ti. - - - - -	Sñi-xxviiij. ti.		
		D Eodem. j. vlñ. dī saunt' viř p sella dñi			
minuť	{	Alfonsi. p'č vj. ti. xij. s. - - - - -	Sñi-vi. ti. xij. s.		
		D Eodem. j. fusteñ p quissinis suřdčis. p'č.			
minuť	{	xix. s. vj d. - - - - -	Sñi-xix. s. vj. d.		
		D Eodem. iiij. banqeř rad' p Cam'a Reğ.			
minuť	{	p'č. xij ti. - - - - -	Sñi-xij. ti.		
		D Eodem. j. Cind' nigř st'cť. p'č. xxv. s. -	Sñi-xxv. s.		
minuť	{	D Eodem. iiij. banqř rad' p Aula R. p'č.			
		ix. ti. - - - - -	Sñi-ix. ti.		
minuť	{	D Eodem. j. Cind' nigř forť. p'č. xliiiij. s. -	Sñi-xliiiij. s.		
		D Eodem. iiij. Sarg rub' p lect' puer. pč.			
minuť	{	vij. ti. xs. - - - - -	Sñi-vij. ti. x. s.		
		D Eodem. ij. magn' banqř p arm' empť. Pariř			
minuť	{	coopind'. p'č. viij. ti. xv. s. - - - - -	Sñi-viiij. ti. xv. s.		
		D Eodem. j. coopť velueť ad capd' Lecti			
minuť	{	R. p'č. c. s. - - - - -	Sñi-c. s.		
		D Eodem. xxx. tb dunetť p qřell' suřdčis.			
minuť	{	viiij. ti. x. s. - - - - -	Sñi-viiij. ti. x. s.		
		D Joñne Le baillif. xij. freveres p'č. peč			
minuť	{	v. s. vj. d. - - - - -	Sñi-Lxvj. s.		
		D Everardo de sčo Lupo. vj. ulñ nigř			
minuť	{	essay. p'č. ulñ. xij. s. - - - - -	Sñi-Lxxij. s.		
		D eodem. j. pann'rad' tinč in grañ p dño			
minuť	{	Alfonso. p'č. xl. ti. - - - - -	Sñi-xl. ti.		
		D Bartho Bendino. j. Cind' nigř forť. p'č.			
minuť	{	xl. s. viij. d. - - - - -	Sñi-xl. s. viij. d.		
		D Guillmō le Hurer. iiij. duod' & dī capll'			
minuť	{	fulcitř. p'č. viij. ti. vij. s. - - - - -	Sñi-viiij. ti. vij. s.		
		D eodem. iiij. duod' laqř serič p eodem			
minuť	{	p'č. Lx. s. - - - - -	Sñi-Lx. s.		
		Eidem p linatuř xxx. cap'll' de eisdem.			
minuť	{	xij. s. - - - - -	Sñi-xij. s.		
		D eodem. j. cassa p eisdem p eisdem. p'č.			
minuť	{	viiij. s. ix. d. - - - - -	Sñi-viiij. s. ix. d.		

	D Ricō gruel. ij. tireteyn mixt in gña p'č.		
	Lxxvij. ti. xv. s. - - - - -	Sñ-Lxxvij. ti. xv. s.	
minut	Eidem p retonš eoždem & j. bl. xvij. s. -	Sm-xvij. s.	
st'ling'	In Expñ Robinetti č Roba Reğ de P'is usq _b		Sñ-xxiiij. s. St' lingož in Tur. iiij. ti. xvj. s.
	Glastoñ č locacōe eq'. xx. s. - - - -	Sñ-xx. s.	
	I. passagō ej ⁹ dem ult' mař. iiij. s. - - - -	Sñ-iiij. s.	
	In uno sacco ad panū p eadem rob' & j.		
	floscell' xl. s. P'is. - - - - -	Sñ-xl. s.	
	P filo. cord' canob' fulcitr' & adjututor		
	trussand' xxxvij. s. - - - - -	Sñ-xxxvij. s.	
	P vj. floscell' empť ad coopř ^d . toť herneš		
	empť P'is. xxvij. s. - - - - -	Sñ xxvij. s.	Sñ-xxxij. ti.
b	In locacōne iiij. carečť p'dčo hneš de Pariš		xvij. s.
minut	usq _b Witsand'. xxiiij. ti - - - - -	Sñ-xxiiij. ti.	Pariš. & va- lent. xlj. li. ij. s. vj. d. Turoñ.
	In Expñ. iiij. vadlleť ⁹ ducenč dčm hneš de		
	P'is usq _b mare. xxiiij. s. - - - - -	Sñ-xxiiij. s.	
	In custumağ soluť p eodem hneš apđ Wit-		
	sand'. xx. s. - - - - -	Sñ-xx. s.	
	In locacōne. j. barg de Witsand' usq _b Turř		
	Lond' p dčo hneš. xxiiij. s. - - - -	Sñ-xxiiij. s.	
a	In Sťmine empť ad trussand' sell'. vj. s. -	Sñ-vj. s.	Ann ⁹ Sext ⁹ .

Sñ tot⁹. istiu rotuli M.CCCC.xxix. libř. v. s. j. d. Pař. q valent in Turoñ-M.D.CC.^{xx} iiij. vj. ti. xv. s. iiij. d.

Iť. xxiiij. s. st'lingoř. & valent. iiij. ti. xvj. s. Turoñ. vnde sñ to⁹. M.DCC.^{xx} iiij. j. ti. xxxvij. s. ix. d. ob. Turoñ. p^b p E.

Sñ Sūmaž CCCC. xlv. ti. ix. s. v. d. St'ling.

(Dorso)

Šistiu ⁹ Rotuli	xlvj. mapř. Item. iiij. duoden supmapř. - - - - -				} Sñ. in denař C.xxx. ti. iiij. s. P'is.
	Item. xvij. duoden Tuatř. It. CC.Lxij. ulñ - - - - -				
	dī Tele - - - - -				
	Item. j. panñ rad' in grañ tincť. - - - - -				} Sñ. in denař. CC.xxxvj. ti. xx. d. P'is.
	Item. vj. ulñ nigr Essay. - - - - -				
	Item. ij. Tireteynes. - - - - -				
	Item. ij. Saunť. - - - - -				
	It'. ij. Cind' afforč. - - - - -				
	Item. j. Cind' de cursu. - - - - -				
	Item. ix. Banqř & iiij. sarg. - - - - -				
	Item. vij. Tapeť. - - - - -				
	Item. j. coopt. m'v' & v. coopť griš. - - - - -				
	Item. vj. peñ m'v'. & iiij. peñ. gr' v'. - - - - -				
	Item. xxiiij. fuř m'v'. & xv. fuř. bisš & griš. - - - - -				

Item. x. fuř. 1 ^o v'. pople & Rossekin'. - - }	
Item. xvj. capon m'v' & xij. grv' & griš - - }	
Item. j. pelič m'v' & j. griš. It' vj. pellič de	Sñ. in denař. DC. vij. ti. xij. s. P'is.
Cruř Lepož & Cuñ. It' j. peñ Cuñ. - - }	
Item. j. coopř foynes. & iij. ourlez de genet. }	
Item. sñ p sell' cū oibus suis ptinenč. - -	-CCC.Lij. ti. ix. s. ij. d. P'is.
Item. sñ p minuř. - C. ij. ti. xix. s. iij. d. Iř. xxiiij. s. St'. in minuř put patz in alia parte.	

Iř oñes mapř supmapř. tuall'. tela. & pelliř lib' in Gard' apđ Turř Lond' p't' q_o ptič que se lib' in empř sič pž.

Iř oñes selle freñ cum oibus suis pññ lib' Ričō Fouñ de p'cepte dñi Reğ.

Sñ to^l. istius rotuli M. CCCC. ^{xx}xxix. ti. v. s. j. d. Pař & valent M. Dec. iij. vj. ti. xj. s. iij. d. Turoñ.

Item in isto rotulo 2^otiñ una sñ xxiiij. s. st'ling & valent iij. ti. xvj. s. Turoñ.

Sñ Sumaz CCCC. xlvij. ti. xvj. s. x. d. St'lingoř St'lingoř & sic debet' Adeneř iij. ti. vij. s. iij. d. St'.

Empčones Pariř fče p Rege & Regina & eoř Liberis Anno Sexto p Adeneti Cissoř.

XXXVII. *Observations on some antient Methods of Conveyance in England; by Henry Ellis, Esq. F.R.S. Secretary: in a Letter addressed to Matthew Raper, Esq. F.R.S. V.P.*

Read 27th January, 1814.

DEAR SIR,

British Museum, Jan. 24, 1814.

IN the third volume of the *Archaeologia* I find a partial illustration of a passage in the *History of Ingulphus*. Speaking of the Customs introduced into this country after the Norman conquest, the historian says, “*Conferebantur etiam primo multa prædia nudo verbo, absque scripto vel charta, tantum cum domini gladio, vel galea, vel cornu, vel cratera; et plurima tenementa cum calcari, cum strigili, cum arcu; et nonnulla cum sagitta. Sed hæc initio regni sui; posterioribus annis immutatus est iste modus.*”^a “At first, many estates were conveyed by bare word, without any writing or charter, but merely by the sword, helmet, horn, or cup of the possessor. Many tenements were transferred by a spur, a horse-comb, a bow, or even an arrow. This was at the beginning of the Norman reign. In later years the custom has been changed.”

As far as horns were used in England as charters or instruments of conveyance, the observations of Dr. Pegge in the volume already alluded to, are probably sufficient.

For conveyances, or rather for possession, by the other articles mentioned in *Ingulphus*, although our authorities are more scanty, we have sufficient to establish the truth of the historian's assertion.

Blomefield, in his *History of Norfolk*, informs us, that it is recorded in one of the registers of *St. Edmundsbury Priory*, that the lordship of *Broke* was given by William the Conqueror, when he first supplicated the protection and favour of the Saint, by falling prostrate

^a *Hist. Ingulphi*. ed. Gale. p. 70.

before, and placing upon his altar, a small knife wrapped up, in the presence of many of his chief nobility.^b

The same writer informs us that Roger, the son of Peter de Valoines, confirmed the grant of his kinsman Walter de Valoines, before he was sworn a monk, of his lordship at Berney, with land at Thursford, to Binham Priory, by laying on the altar a knife, and the service of the third part of a Fee.^c

Two instances of this kind, and two only, are mentioned in the first volume of the Domesday Survey: both in the enumeration of the lands of Urso de Abetot in Worcestershire.

“Urso,” it is said, “holds Witune in Wich, and Gunfrid holds under him. The Church of Evesham held it in the time of King Edward the Confessor. A certain person of the name of Vluiet gave this land to the church, and (*posuit donum super altare*) made his offering on the altar, at the time his son Alviet became a monk. This was done in the fifth year of King Edward.” What the offering was in this case does not appear, but it assists us in carrying the custom at least as far back as the year 1046, the fifth year of the reign of the Confessor, and probably as early as any of the Norman customs could have been introduced.

In an entry toward the close of Urso de Abetot’s possessions, Hantune is noticed, which had likewise belonged to Evesham Abbey. The Abbat is said to have bought the land of a certain Thein, and, having purchased it, gave it to the church “*per unum textum positum*

^b Blomef. Norf. vol. v. p. 1106. ex Reg. Pincebeck, fol. 181. pen. Episc. Norw. nunc Bibl. Univ. Cant. Reg. Sac. fol. 44. &c. This had before been done by Edward the Confessor, if what the Abbat pleaded in the 22d year of Edward III. was true. “Et idem Abbas ostendit aliquam Chartam regiam quæ testatur donationem fieri dictæ Abbatiæ, de terris et tenementis prædictis, habendis in liberam puram et perpetuam eleemosynam, in forma in dicto Brevi suggesta, sed allegat quod sanctus Edwardus quondam Rex Angliæ, progenitor vester, dedit et concessit Deo ac Sancto Edmundo ac Monachis domus illius Deo ibidem servientibus dicta terras et tenementa in Brok *per quendam Cultellum*, quem dicit ipsum Sanctum Edwardum fixisse super altum Altare Mon. dictæ Abbatiæ et ibidem dimisisse in perpet. mem. duraturam, et quam quidem donationem sic fieri pretendit verificare *per patriam*.” Mich. Record. 22 E. 3. Rot. 11. b. Norf.

^c Blomef. Norf. Ibid, p. 789.

super Altare."^d The practice of offering land by a copy of the Gospels will be noticed presently.

A singular instance of the same sort of gift occurs in Hearne's notes to the annals of Dunstaple, where we have the copy of an inscription on the ivory handle of a Whip found in the ruins of St. Alban's Abbey, which appears to have been the testimony of a gift of four mares to the monks from one Gilbert de Novo Castello.

K̄ Ē DONATIO . GISLEBTI . D̄A . NOVO . C̄ASTEL
 LO . DE . IIII . EQVAB . BENE . ĀMBVLAN
 TIB : QV̄AS . SIḠ ĒIS . ĀNNIS . D̄ARE
 DEBET . SC̄O . ĀLBANO
 VNDE . MONACHI . P̄A
 LEFRIDOS . D̄ABET̄ .

King William the second, in the year 1096, gave the Abbey of Tavistock seisin of the land or manor of Wlurinton *per Cultellum eberneum*; which knife was laid up in a shrine at that abbey, and had inscribed on its haft, words signifying that donation.^e

Many donors, it should seem, desirous of making their conveyances as firm as possible, when written charters came into more general use, united the more ancient and simple form with them. Hence, we find; occasionally, that such articles as Ingulphus mentions were sometimes attached to deeds like seals. In the archives of Trinity College Cambridge, a deed is still preserved to which a knife is appendant.

Gunton, in his History of Peterborough Cathedral, p. 279, says: "In 1140, Ralph, the son of Arconbus de Clinton, came to Burgh, and standing before the high altar, offered to God and St. Peter, for the salvation of his soul and forgiveness of his sins, six acres of land in Peychirche. In testimony of which donation he demised his knife in the very church, laying it upon the altar: and Martin the abbot, on

^d Domesd. tom. i. fol. 182 a.

^e Madox Formul. Anglic. Diss. p. ix.

the other side, gave, from the charity of St. Peter, one mark of silver to the aforesaid Radulphus, desiring to make him the more cheerful in this donation.

“That form,” he adds, “of confirming a grant, by the donors laying his knife upon the altar, was usual in those times. For, in the year wherein King Stephen was taken prisoner, (the next I think after that now mentioned) upon the Feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross, Guido Malfet, with Adeliza his wife, came into the chapter house of Burg; and there restored to God and St. Peter, and the monks of the church, *ad luminare Altaris*, two parts of all the tythes he had, in part, formerly kept wrongfully from the church. And, after he had done this in the chapter-house, he went to the altar of St. Peter, and there finally granted and confirmed what he had done in the chapter house *per Cultellum super Altare ab eodem positum.*”

“In the year 1150,” continues Gunton, “I find that Ingelramus Wardeden came to Burgh with his three sons, and there made a solemn acknowledgment that the thirty shillings which he yearly claimed from the Abbey had been unjustly, and to the peril of his soul, received by him. And therefore before the high altar, in the presence of the convent, he both promised amendment of his fault, which he acknowledged by laying his knife on the altar, and also disclaimed all right in the premise, by the same knife, &c. so the words are, *et de culpa sua, quam timuit et recognovit, Cultellum super illud pro emendatione posuit; et omne rectum quod in eisdem triginta solidis hactenus clamaverat, de se et hæredibus suis, natis et innatis, et de omni progenie sua, per eundem Cultellum reddidit, et quietum clamavit.* After which they all took their oaths also upon the altar that they would never pretend to these thirty shillings in time to come.”

When William de Merley gave the vill of Morewic to the monks of Durham, in 1129, we are told he confirmed his donation before a large body of witnesses, placing his knife on the tomb of Saint Cuthbert. “*Et super Sepulchrum Sancti Cuthberti, per unum Cultellum, obtulit prædictam terram.*”^f

^f Monast. Angl. tom. i. p. 49.

From the Registrum Nigrum of St. Edmund's Bury Abbey mentioned in Sir James Burroughs's Collections, we learn that about the same period, in the reign of Henry the first, Stephen Earl of Bretagne, gave to St. Edmund and Abbot Anselm all the land which he had in Cambridge; concluding his charter with these words: "*Et quia hoc Donum propria manu, prasente Comitissâ, cum Cultello meo super Altare Sancti Edmundi posui, ideo Henricum Regem karissimum Dominum meum deprecor, ut hoc concedat, et perpetua stabilitate tenere faciat.*"^g

Other instances of this ceremony with the knife may be found scattered up and down in Sir William Dugdale's Monasticon, in Madox's Formulæ Anglicanum, and in many of our ancient chartularies. A charter copied in the margin from the register of Spalding Priory, in which a folding or clasped knife was given, affords, perhaps, the completest view of the practice.^h

When Mr. Cole of Milton was at Notre Dame in 1765, he was shewn a small pointed knife with an ivory handle, about 700 years old. On the handle was the following inscription, the chapter holding by virtue of this Knife the parvis or square which is before the great front of the Cathedral, in the same manner as the Church of York was

^g MS. Cole. Brit. Mus. vol. XLI. p. 321.

^h *Donum Domini Thomæ Multon de Ecclesia de Weston tradito Cultello plicato.*

Thomas de Multon omnibus Hominibus suis Francis et Anglis, et omnibus Ecclesiæ Catholicæ fidelibus salutem. Noscat Universitas vestra me, in exequiis Patris mei apud Spalding, Capitulum Sancti Nicholai ingressum coram Fratribus meis, et Matre mea, et Sororibus, et Amicis meis, et hominum multitudine tunc ibidem collocata, Ecclesiam de Weston, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis Deo et Sanctæ Mariæ, et Sancto Nicholao, et Monachis ibidem Deo servientibus, pro anima patris mei, et pro animabus predecessorum meorum in perpetuam Eleemosynam dedisse, et Gaufrido Priori Nigellum prænominate Ecclesiæ personam per manum commendasse. Postea inde egressus, ut quod sic verbo fuerat sansitum, opere cunctis pateret certificatum, eandem Ecclesiam cum decimis et elemosinis, terris, et omnibus eidem pertinentibus, super Altare Dei et Sanctæ Mariæ et Sancti Nicholai *Cultello meo proprio optuli, qui super eodem Altare plicatus, in Secretario repositus est, in hujus rei testimonium observandum.* Deinde de Ecclesia rediens, et in Capitulum iterum veniens, fui Frater et Particeps Beneficiorum totius Ecclesiæ, hiis videntibus et audientibus, Abbate Everardo de Croiland, Galfrido Priore, Ricardo Lumbard, et aliis."

See Cole's MSS. Brit. Mus. vol. XLI. p. 386. The date of this deed is supposed to be about the year 1160.

endowed with a considerable portion of land by Wlphus, who gave his drinking Horn of Ivory with it, and by virtue of which the Chapter hold the same, the cup being to this day in their possession.

HIC CULTELLUS FUIT FULCHERI DE BUOLO, PER QUEM WIDO DEDIT AREAS DROGONIS ARCHIDIACONI ECCLESIAE SANCTAE MARIAE ANTE EANDEM ECCLESIAM SITAS PRO ANNIVERSARIO MATRIS SUAE.

That is,

“ This knife belonged to Faucher de Beuil, by which Guy hath given to the Church of St. Mary the areas or open space before the said Church, which belonged to Drogo the Archdeacon, for an Anniversary Service for his Mother.”ⁱ

Numerous instances of Gifts made in the same manner to foreign Monasteries may be found in Du Cange's Glossary; principally in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.^k

Of Investiture BY A CHALICE I have but one instance to adduce from Simeon of Durham. He relates that Copsi, a man of great power in the North, as well in the reign of William the Conqueror as in that of the Confessor, gave certain lands at Merscum to the Monks: and adds; “ In cujus donationis signum, etiam *Sciphum argenteum optulit, qui in hac ecclesia servatus, aeternam illius facti memoriam retinet.*”^l

Sir William Dugdale, in the History of St. Paul's Cathedral, tells us, that Osbert de Camera (some time in the twelfth century), being visited with great sickness, granted unto the Canons of that church in pure alms, for the health of his soul, certain lands and houses lying near Haggelane, in the parish of Saint Benedict; giving possession of them with his Gold Ring, wherein a ruby was set; appointing that the same Gold Ring, together with his Seal, should for ever be fixed to the charter, whereby he so disposed them.^m

Mr. Peck, in his Collections for a Supplement to the Monasticon, gives a Copy of a Charter to Belvoir Priory in Leicestershire, in which Hiwen de Albeneio and Geoffrey de Chavenny give possession of the Church of Plungard to the Priory by a WALKING-STAFF. It con-

ⁱ MS. Cole. Brit. Mus. vol. xxxiv. p. 79.

^k v. INVESTITURA.

^l Script, X. Twysd. p.

^m Hist. St. Paul's, fol. Lond. 1658. p. 8.

cludes, "*Hanc Donationem BACULO quodam super Altare Beatæ Mariæ optulimus, astante Conventu ejusdem loci, et Willielmo de Albini et filio ejus Willielmo, Johanne de Bothesford, Hugone filio Maugerii, Willielmo Pincerna, et nonnullis aliis testibus hujus rei.*"ⁿ

The same mode of Investiture occurs in the foundation Charter of the Abbey of Balmerynach in Fife, by Alexander King of Scotland, who endowed that Abbey with certain lands "quas Adam de Stawell
"frater et hæres Richardi Revell nobis ad opus Dominæ Ermergardis
"Reginæ Matris nostræ, in plenâ Curia nostra apud Forffar quietas
"clamavit, et in manu nostrâ pro se et hæredibus suis per *Fustem*
"et *Baculum* resignavit."^o

William de Albini, says Blomefield, on his foundation of the Priory of Wymondham in Norfolk, gave the whole town of Hapesburgh, except the land of Ansgot the chamberlain, to the said Priory, which was a cell to the Abbey of Saint Albans; and afterwards, at the burial of Maud his wife, confirmed the aforesaid grant, and, on the said day, gave the Priory possession, by delivering them a CROSS OF SILVER.

The giving Seisin *per TEXTUM EVANGELII*, already noticed from the Domesday Survey, deserves farther illustration. In one instance we are told by Du Cange that, in the year 1095, "*Radulphus filius Huberti Vicecomitis venit ad Monasterium Sancti Vincentii, quo acceperat sororem Widonis de Valle in conjugem, et cum Textu, auro et lapidibus parato, accepto de manibus Abbatis Rannulfi, quem super altare posuit, annuit quidquid pater suus dederat.*"

Madox, in his *Formulare Anglicanum*, Num. cccxcix. recites a Donation in frankalmoigne of the Church of Tadinton with the tithes of the demesne and villans there to the Monks of Monmouth: the donor of which finishes his grant "*Ut autem prætaxatæ Ecclesiæ Donatio cum cæteris supradictis legitime et firmiter fieret, eam in manu Domini Roberti Herefordensis Episcopi posui, et in frequenti capitulo, videntibus et audientibus qui aderant, per Textum Sancti Evangelii*

ⁿ MS. Donat. Brit. Mus. 4936, fol. 62.

^o Mon. Angl. tom. ii. p. 1056. So Walter de Leites granted and quit claimed to William Mareschall Earl of Pembroke, in Curia suâ, Terram de Winton [or Wutton] *per fustem et per baculum*. Madox Formul. Angl. Diss. p. x.

super Altare donavi." Robert Bishop of Hereford I take to be Robert de Bethun, who came to the see in the year 1139.

An instance of this mode of investiture occurs in the Register of Spalding Priory as late as the year 1284; the Donor, it is said, "*detulit Textum super Altare Beatæ Mariæ pro Confirmatione doni Eleemosynæ suæ.*"

Gunton, in his History of the Cathedral of Peterborough,^p notices another mode of Investiture by the BRANCH OF A TREE: a practice by no means uncommon in former times upon the Continent. Robert de Torpell, he says, "in the next week after his return from Rome, being very weak, came to the Hospital of the Infirm in Burch, to the Chapel of St. Leonard, and there before many witnesses gave himself, body and soul, to God and Saint Peter and the Church of Burch, with all his lands in Codestock and Glapetorp, and for the confirmation of this Donation "*misit vadimonium suum ad altare, RAMUM scilicet VIRIDEM bis in die, per quendam Monachum Ecclesiæ.*"

Alexander de Budicumbe, we are told by Madox, surrendered certain land *per unum Ramum Arboris*, to Hawise de Gurney, and she gave seisin thereof to Thomas Fitz William, *per eundem Ramum Arboris.*^q

The most extraordinary mode of Investiture, perhaps, after all, was that by which William Earl of Warren gave and confirmed to the Church of St. Pancras at Lewes, in the twenty-fourth year of King Henry the Third, certain land, rent, and tithe, of which he gave seisin *per Capillos capitis sui et fratris sui Radulfi*. The Hair of the parties was cut off by the Bishop of Winchester before the high altar.

Such appears to have been the mode of giving livery of seisin, or possession, from about the middle of the eleventh to the close of the thirteenth century.

The æra of a new acquisition, to use the words of Sir William Blackstone, was thus perpetuated, at a time when the art of writing was very little known: "and therefore the evidence of property was reposed in the memory of the neighbourhood; who, in case of a disputed title, were afterwards called upon to decide the difference, not

^p P. 281.

^q Formul. Anglic. num. c.

only according to external proofs, adduced by the parties litigant, but also by the internal testimony of their own private knowledge."

It must not be concealed that Gunton, in his History of Peterborough, pp. 238, 239, records two or three instances of Investiture as occurrences of the *seventh* century. Adilredus or Ethelred King of Mercia, at the time of a Donation to the Abbey of Peterborough, is said to have placed a Glebe, or Clod of Earth, upon a Copy of the Gospels. Friduricius, one of his Nobles, is stated to have done the same at the time of another Gift to the Cell of Bredon. But these are probably fabrications of a later time. We certainly have no proofs of such a practice during the earlier reigns of the Saxon Kings.

I am, dear Sir,

Very truly yours,

HENRY ELLIS.

APPENDIX.

AT
A COUNCIL OF THE SOCIETY
OF
ANTIQUARIES,

DECEMBER 15, 1776,

RESOLVED,

That such curious Communications as the Council shall not think proper to publish *entire*, be extracted from the Minutes of the Society, and formed into an Historical Memoir, to be annexed to each future Volume of the Archaeologia.

A P P E N D I X.

December 6, 1810, Ambrose Glover, Esq. in a letter addressed to William Bray, Esq. Treasurer, communicated to the Society an account of the opening of some Barrows on Reigate-Heath. "At the north-west corner of the common, called Reigate-Heath, part of the waste of the manor of Reigate, belonging to Lord Sommers, and just at the entrance of the road leading from Reigate towards Dorking, were four hills of a conical shape, very near to each other, which had been generally considered to have been natural formations. In the autumn of 1809, some plantations being about to be made under my directions, by way of adding scenery to the spot, I ordered some clumps of trees to be planted on these eminences. On removing the earth, I found that it was composed of a blackish mould, mixed with a white sand, being exactly the same soil as the superstratum of the common. Having learned so much, I caused the earth to be removed, till the workmen came to the rock of sand of which the substratum of the common consists. Below the largest of these barrows (for such I was now satisfied they were) was found a circular space of about eighteen inches diameter and fifteen inches depth, formed out of the solid rock, in which was found a great quantity of ashes mixed with much charred wood. The depth from the crown of this barrow to the sand-rock below was about six feet. This discovery being made, the workmen were di-

rected to proceed with greater care; and, on examining another of these barrows, was found an urn of coarse baked clay, of a palish red colour, but unfortunately this was broken by the workmen, who, coming suddenly upon it, struck it with their tools, and broke it into pieces. This also appeared to contain ashes, with some small pieces of charred wood. The rim and the body of the urn are rudely ornamented with rows of diagonal lines. The ware seems to have been badly tempered, is but little baked, and is very easily broken. The two other barrows were composed of the same soil, but, upon opening them, nothing was found.

In the *Archæologia*, Vol. XIII. p. 404, Pl. XXVI. Fig. 5, an Urn is described which seems to have somewhat resembled, both in shape and substance, that which I have mentioned. In the same page is also described an oval cavity, which appears to have been applied to the same purpose as the space formed in the sand rock."

February 7, 1811, The Rev. John Milner, D. D. F. S. A. communicated to the Society an account of the ancient Monastery of Sion, founded by King Henry the Fifth, at Isleworth, in the year 1415, the site of which is now the property of the Duke of Northumberland. "This establishment was a double monastery, namely, of monks and of nuns, in separate enclosures, both being under the government of an abbess. It was of the Brigittine order, founded by St. Brigit, a princess of Sweden, who died in the year 1373. The first religious of this order were introduced into England, from the original monastery of Wastein in Sweden, by the Lord Henry Fitzhugh, Chamberlain to King Henry V; and, at his suggestion, this victorious sovereign determined, that the monastery which he had resolved

upon founding in the parish of Isleworth, in the county of Middlesex, should be of the Brigistine order. The first stone of the convent of *St. Saviour of Sion*, as it was called, was laid by the above mentioned King Henry V, Feb. 22, in the year 1415, in the presence of Richard Clifford, Bishop of London. On the 5th of February, 1420, the first profession, or monastic engagement by vōw, took place in the Convent of Sion, at which time twenty-four nuns, five priests, two deacons, and four lay brothers, pronounced their vows in the presence of Henry Chicheley, Archbishop of Canterbury, the founder of All Souls College, Oxford. In the year 1426, the first stone of the new church of the monastery was laid by John Duke of Bedford, Regent, in the presence of the Bishops of London and Winchester.

The fate of this community is singular and interesting. Upon their dissolution in the time of Henry VIII, they did not separate as most of the other communities did, but retired into the Low Countries, and continued to live together in a conventual way. On the accession of Queen Mary Tudor to the throne, they were recalled to England, and reinstated in their monastery and other possessions, at Sion and elsewhere. When Elizabeth became Queen, they again crossed the sea, and obtained a temporary residence at Rouen in Normandy. At length, they were invited to Lisbon, where they got a good convent and endowment, and where the nuns at least (for the monks were unable to perpetuate their establishment) have continued, as an English community, for more than two hundred years, until within the last twelve months, when the greater part of them, being nine in number, sought refuge in their native country from the calamities of the conti-

ment. They had undergone the usual plundering and other vexations of the French provisional government, which reduced them to a state of abject poverty; and within these few months, two or three of their number, whom they left behind them to keep possession of their convent, have been forced to evacuate it, in order to make place for sick and maimed British soldiers, the house being converted into an hospital. The abovementioned nine sisters are at present living in a small house at Walworth.

Amongst other articles which they have brought with them from Lisbon, is the ancient seal of the convent,



and a book containing, 1st, A short Account of the Death of St. Brigit of Rome, and of the Removal of her Body into Sweden: 2dly, A List of sixteen Abbesses, and of fourteen male Superiors of Monks of the Community in question: 3dly, Some liturgical Constitutions regarding Prayers for the deceased Brethren and Sisters: 4thly, A Calendar of Saints' Days,

interspersed with Notes respecting Obits, &c.: 5thly, The Necrology, or List of deceased Members and Benefactors of the Community from its very Foundation down to about the Year 1639: 6thly, The Martyrology, as it used to be read in the Chapter House of Sion Monastery, from this very Book, near four hundred Years ago. Many of the particulars here related, respecting the history of the establishment, have been extracted from this volume.

The seal appears to represent the founder of the monastery of Sion, Henry V, in a suit of plate armour, with his sword in his right hand, and a book, probably the constitutions of the monastery, in his left. The inscription, which is in the character of Henry the Vth's reign, is clearly legible on one side thus: S. (sigillum) CONVENTVS . DE . SYON.

May 2, 1811. John Crosse, Esq. F. S. A. exhibited to the Society various Celts and fragments of Spear Heads, which were turned up by the plough, about two years ago, in a field near Skirlaugh in Holderness, in the county of York. At the time they were found they were wrapped in cloth, and imbedded in a quantity of decayed wood.

Nov. 2, 1811. Edward Rudge, Esq. communicated to the Society, in a letter to the Rev. Stephen Weston, F. S. A. an account of some Gold and Silver Roman Coins, which were dug out of a stone quarry by a labourer, on the 22d of October last, at Cleeve, five miles from Evesham, on the site of a Roman road, leading from Campden to Alcester. "They were contained in two red earthen pots, each eighteen inches wide, and about two feet high; the pots were full, the coins pouring out of that which was broken by the pick when first discovered. The gold coins are in the most perfect state of preservation, as if fresh from the

die; the silver coins are worn, and not so fresh. There were many counterfeits among the gold, namely, copper plated with gold, which were discoloured by verdigris. The gold coins were struck under the Emperors Valentinianus I. Gratianus, and Theodosius I. The silver under Julianus the Apostate, Valentinianus I. Gratianus, Theodosius I. and Magnus Maximus. None of these coins presented any uncommon types."

Dec. 5, 1811. J. V. Thompson, Esq. of Lincoln's Inn, exhibited to the Society three Roman cinerary Urns, of earthen ware, which were found in the parish of Bexley, on the estate of John Smith, Esq. M. P. of Blendon Hall. These, and one more which was broken by the workmen, were discovered between two and three feet beneath the surface of the ground, placed in a line, the direction of which was nearly east and west. The two largest were at the extremities of this line, and the two smallest in the centre. The largest urn contained fragments of bones, which had been submitted to the action of fire. These urns are very similar to those found in the year 1802, at Blackheath, in the garden of the late Earl of Dartmouth. See *Archæologia*, vol. XV. pl. 29, fig. 4 and 6.

Feb. 27, 1812, The Rev. Thomas Rackett, M. A. F. S. A. presented to the Society a Drawing of a Mosaic Pavement found at Dorchester, with the following account of some Antiquities discovered in Dorsetshire. "The Mosaic Pavement was discovered two feet below the surface of the ground, in digging the foundation for a garden wall belonging to the New Gaol at Dorchester (formerly the site of the Castle), about three years ago. The pattern is very simple, and appears to differ a little from that of any tessellated Pavement hitherto observed in Britain. It consists of a series of three parallelograms, one within another, each formed by

two rows of blue tesserae, on a white ground; on each side of this is a blue stripe formed by five rows of tesserae.

About ten feet in length of the Pavement have been uncovered, and it is four feet and a half wide. It appears to be part of a passage, and as Dorchester (Durovernum) is so well known as a Roman station, it probably formed a part of a considerable and elegant building. There is, however, but little prospect of future discoveries, as the walls of the gaol stand within a few feet of the eastern extremity of the Pavement, and other buildings within a garden intercept it towards the west. Not far from this spot, whilst the wall abovementioned was building, several larger and coarser tesserae were dug up, and Roman coins are frequently found by the prisoners, who are permitted to cultivate the garden. A small part of the Pavement has been (at my suggestion) protected by a wooden covering.

The Dorsetshire Downs abound with earthen works, inequalities of surface, pits, and barrows, the indications of early population. At Charlton Marshall, near Blandford, there are slight banks and intersections along the sides of the hills for a considerable extent. Samuel White, Esq. lord of the manor of Charlton, being about to make a large plantation on his estate, found upon turning up the soil of two small pits in a solitary spot, two miles from the village, a considerable quantity of fragments of ancient pottery, the parts of vessels of various shapes and sizes, though none were sufficiently entire to point out exactly their original form; they are evidently Roman, or fabricated by the Britons after their intercourse with that people. Many bones of animals were found near the same place, and the vegetation was evidently more

green and luxuriant than elsewhere: not far off are the traces of a well now filled up.

There are several Tumuli at a small distance. I was present at the opening of one of them by Mr. White, on the 19th of October, 1811. After digging down about five feet through alternate strata of chalk and flints to the floor of the barrow, we discovered a circular cist in the chalk, two feet wide, and one foot six inches deep, apparently filled with black mould. Some of this being removed, we found an urn, ten inches and a half in height, and eight inches in diameter at the top, in an erect position, of brown baked clay. It is of rude pottery, has a few ridges on the upper part, and appears to have had four small perforated projections (of which three are remaining), by which, from its black smoky appearance underneath, it seems to have been suspended over the funeral pile. The Urn in these particulars resembles that figured in Sir Richard Hoare's *Ancient Wiltshire* (Tumuli, pl. I.) It was filled with burnt bones, and being removed with great care, is preserved entire, and is in the possession of Mr. White, but is of too fragile a texture to bear conveyance for the inspection of the Society.

Another Barrow, opened some time ago, contained a rude urn, much resembling the one just described, but without any projections or handles.

Feb. 27, 1812, Joseph Brandish, Esq. of Aulcester, in the county of Warwick, communicated to the Society, in a letter to Nicholas Carlisle, Esq. Secretary, an account of the discovery of two Urns, in a piece of ground called *Black Lands*, situated near that town. At a little distance from the smaller urn was discovered the skeleton of a man, which measured, as it lay on the earth, nearly seven feet in length. By his left side was placed a long straight sword, which, upon being

Fig. 1.

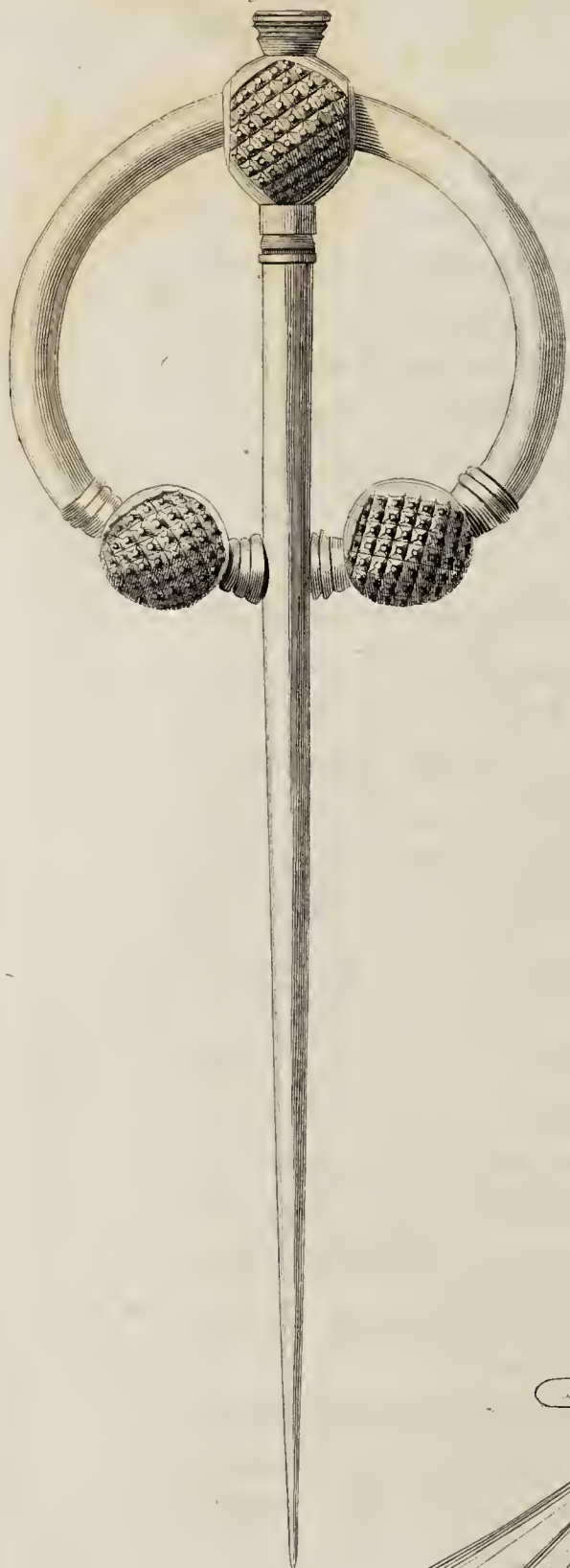


Fig. 2.

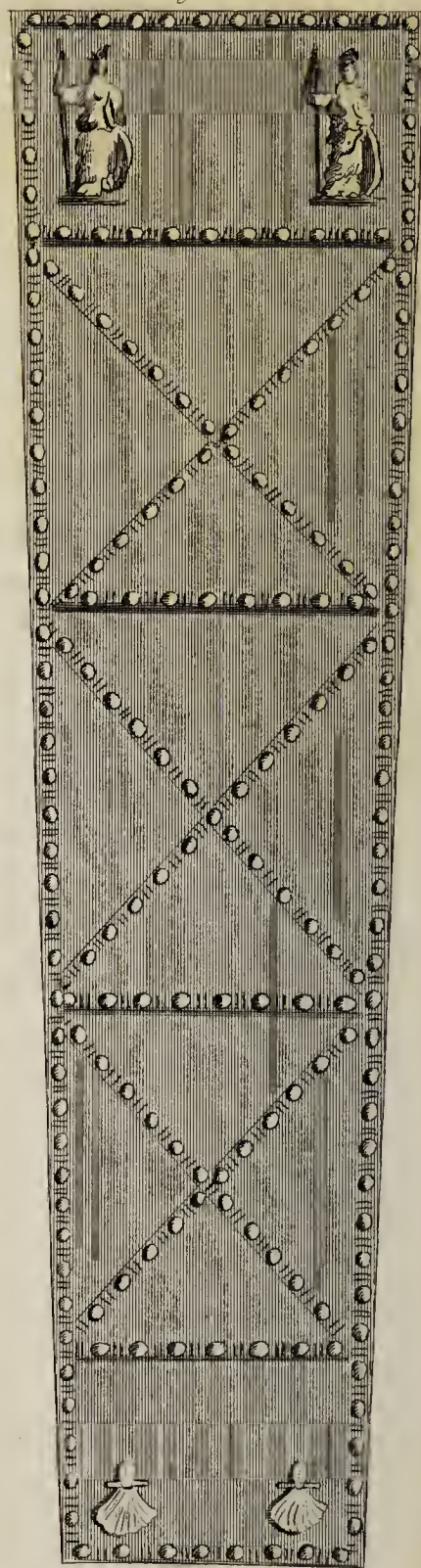
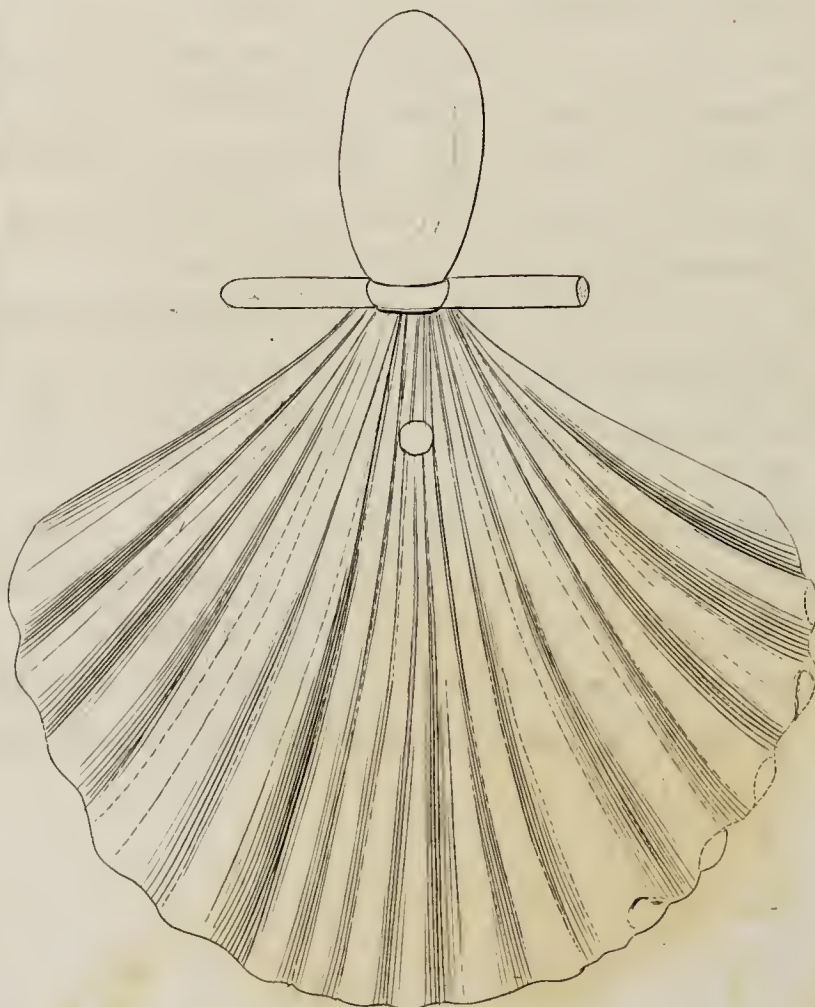


Fig. 3.



moved, mouldered to pieces. Mr. Brandish remarks, that workmen, in digging for gravel near the town, very frequently discover human skeletons; in general they are not more than three feet beneath the surface of the earth, and are seldom more than four. Roman copper coins are very often found in the gardens and fields adjoining to the town, and several other Urns, similar to the abovementioned, have been lately dug up, but unfortunately destroyed by the workmen in digging.

May 14, 1812. Thomas Pitt, Esq. of Wakefield in Yorkshire, exhibited to the Society forty Roman Copper Coins found in an earthen vessel upon the estate of the Marquis of Hertford, on the Wakefield Outwood, in the township of Stanley, and parish of Wakefield, about three miles from the latter place. The field in which they were found is nearly a mile from Lingwell Gate, where formerly was a Roman station (see Camden's Britannia), and is about one hundred and fifty yards to the left of the road leading from Wakefield to York, and nearly at the top of a hill, below which, at a little distance, runs the river Calder. A considerable quantity of Coins have been found, at different times, near the same spot. The Coins exhibited to the Society were those of Licinius sen. Constantinus Maximus, Crispus, Constantinus jun. and Constantius II.

May 28, 1812. Richard Gregory, Esq. F.S.A. exhibited to the Society a Silver Broche, dug up in a bog near Ballymoney, in the county of Antrim, Ireland. See Plate XXV. fig. 1.

May 28, 1812. The Rev. Thomas Rackett, M.A. F.S.A. exhibited to the Society the remains of a leaden Coffin (see Plate XXV, fig. 2, 3.) found in the Kent road, with the following account: "In the month of May, 1811, as some labourers, employed by the South London

Water Works Company, were opening the ground near the Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb, Kent road, in order to lay down some wooden pipes, they found a leaden Coffin; the lid was bordered, and divided into five compartments, by the bead and fillet ornament. In the upper compartment were two figures of Minerva; the three intermediate ones were diagonally crossed by the same ornament, and the lower compartment contained two escallop shells. The whole appeared to have been cast in a mould. The Coffin was sold by the workmen who found it to a plumber, of whom the lid was purchased by Samuel White, Esq. F. S. A. of Charlton in Dorsetshire.

On opening the coffin, the principal part of the large bones of a skeleton were found entire, and also some few of the smaller ones, but no vestige whatever of of the skull remained. The lower part of the coffin was much decayed. It was discovered a few feet from the edge of the bank, on which, within a very late period, was a quick hedge, the boundary of the road. In Morant's History of Colchester mention is made of a leaden coffin cast or wrought all over with lozenges, in each of which was an escallop shell.

Jan. 14, 1813. Robert Darley Waddilove, D. D. F. S. A. Dean of Ripon, communicated to the Society the following errata, or alterations, in the Account of the ancient Font in the Church of South Kilvington, printed in the Archaeologia, vol. XVI. p. 341, 342. The second Sir Geoffrey became Lord Scrope of Upsal in right of his mother, and was Chief Justice of England in the reigns of Edw. II. and Edw. III. This Sir Geoffrey le Scrope purchased Mashamshire of Joan the daughter and heiress of Sir John Walton (or Wanton), Knt. after the death of her husband Hugh de Hephham, 2 Edw. III. 1328; and the purchase deeds at present

exist in the very respectable family, who are now possessed, by descent from the Lords Scrope, of that extensive property. Sir Geoffrey married Joetta, the daughter of William Ross of Ingmanthorpe. He had issue Sir Henry le Scrope, and other children, who married into the families of Luttrell and Hotham. He died 13 or 14 Edw. III. 1339—40.

Sir Henry, son and heir of the above Geoffrey, Lord Scrope of Upsal, Flaxtead, and Masham, aged 25 years at the decease of his father, and a knight banneret, died 15 R. II, A. D. 1392, aged 78.

He left two sons, Stephen, aged 40 years at his father's death, and William, afterwards Earl of Wiltshire, who was beheaded at Bristol, 1 Hen. IV. 1399.

Stephen Lord Scrope of Upsal Castle and Masham, married Margery, the widow of the son of Sir William de Huntingfield, Knt. 15 Ed. III. 1377, was summoned amongst the Barons to parliament, and died 25 Jan. 7 Hen. IV. A. D. 1406, leaving several children. The eldest was the unfortunate Henry Lord Scrope, Treasurer of England, who was beheaded for high treason at Southampton, A. D. 1415, in the conspiracy described by our historians, and our great dramatic poet, in the reign of Henry V. He died without issue. His first lady was Philippa, the daughter of Guy, son of Sir Guy de Brien, Knight; his second was that remarkable Duchess of York, &c &c. (as in the printed copy to the foot of the page) p. 344. Thomas, son of Lord Scrope the Treasurer, married the daughter of Lord Greystoke, and Mashamshire was in consequence settled upon him by a deed, now also existing, 31 Hen. VI. 1453. By this lady, as it appears, he left four sons, Thomas, Henry, Ralph, and Geoffrey, and three daughters. Thomas his eldest son," &c.

May 13, 1813. James Brown, Esq. F. S. A. communicated, in a letter.

addressed to Nicholas Carlisle, Esq. Secretary, the following account of the discovery of an ancient Stone Coffin in the neighbourhood of St. Alban's. "As some labourers of Mr. Stephen Smith, in March last, were digging for gravel on the edge of a field abutting on an old road leading toward Redbourn from the back of the ancient Manor-house of Kingsbury, in the parish of St. Michael, adjoining to St. Alban's, they discovered an old Stone Coffin, enclosing a skeleton. It was found lying at a considerable depth under a bank, and nearly on a level with the road, in a direction almost due east and west. The coffin is in the form of a great oblong trough, perfectly plain and unornamented, without any circular enclosure for the head, as has sometimes appeared in more modern stone coffins, and does not grow narrower toward the feet. It is six feet three inches and a half long in the inside, twelve inches deep, and eighteen inches wide. The sides three inches and three quarters thick, and the lid five inches. Besides the skeleton, the coffin contained three glass vessels of different forms, which were found standing in different parts of it. These vessels, one of which is broken, are now at Gorhambury, in the possession of Lord Viscount Grimston, lord of the manor, and the coffin has been removed to St. Michael's church, in a corner of which it now lies. The place where the coffin was found was probably a cœmeterium of the Romans; and as I apprehend that it was the acknowledged custom of the Romans to bury their dead by the sides of their highways, and as there is reason to believe that several coffins, though not of stone, have been discovered in and about this very spot, I should suppose that this road, though now a mere green lane, or back road, must have been in their days a road of more import-

ance. It has always been supposed, that the ancient Watling Street ran along the brow of the opposite ridge of hills from Edgware and Elstree, round the outside of the south-westernmost part of the wall of the city of Verolam, as laid down by Dr. Stukeley in his *Vestigia Verolamii*, published in 1721, in the first volume of the *Vetusta Monumenta*."

May 20, 1813. The Rev. Francis Vyvyan Jago, F. S. A. Rector of Landulph, communicated to the Society, in a letter addressed to Samuel Lysons, Esq. V. P. the following account of the discovery of a number of Celts and a Sword, in high preservation, in Cornwall. "About a month since, some miners streaming for tin in a meadow called Long Moor, immediately under and belonging to Lanhearn House, in the parish of Mawgan, found a number of Celts and a Sword in high preservation. Both the celts and the sword were, as usual, of mixed metal between copper and tin. The celts were generally of the common form, about four inches and a half long, with a square socket and a ring at the side. One (which I procured) varied from the rest, by having no socket, but a groove on each side; and two or three were wholly dissimilar from any I have seen. Indeed they do not appear applicable to the same uses. These were about five inches long, and of one uniform width, about one inch, with a square socket three parts of the length. The wedge-like form was preserved at the end. Perhaps they were heads of light darts.

The sword was one foot nine inches long, and about one inch and a half wide at the base, and terminated gradually in a point, which, with the edges, is yet sharp. Its general appearance resembled Fig. 2. Pl. LXX. of the XVIth volume of the *Archæologia*, though in much higher preservation. Like that

too, it has two holes in the hilt, and there terminates, the remainder being probably broken off.

They were found at the depth of twelve feet under a bed of black mud, and scattered at small distances upon a bed of smooth pebbles much resembling those on the beach a short way off.

The sword and some of the celts are at Lanhearn, being claimed by the nuns on the part of Lord Arundel."

June 24, 1813. Davies Giddy, Esq. M. P. in a letter addressed to the Right Hon. the Earl of Aberdeen, K. T. President, communicated an account of the opening of a Barrow at Berling, near Eastbourn, in Sussex, the property of Charles Gilbert, Esq.

"The chalk cliffs of the South Downs diminish in height as they recede from the bold promontory, called Beachy Head; and, at a mile and half to the westward, become so low as to admit of access from the sea. This opening is called Berling Gap. Very near to the Gap is situated a large cliff surrounded towards the land by a vallum, at the foot of which eminence are the remains of several tumuli. One very little elevated, but much exceeding the ordinary diameter, was observed by persons employed to clear away furze: and Mr. Gilbert and myself happened to be present on the 29th of May in this year, when a servant of Mr. Hodson, who occupies the farm, began to open it. The Barrow measured about thirty-six feet across its centre. Immediately under the turf was found a vaulted covering of large flints evidently supporting one another, as a blow on any part gave a tremulous motion to the whole. The cavity appeared full of a fine red loam, very different from the chalk soil surrounding it. When this earth was removed, a second dome presented itself; within that was found a thin layer of earth; and lastly a third

dome, about six feet wide, and two feet and a half high. Here stood the urn, imbedded in red loam, and inverted. The only contents were two or three small bones, the others, which now almost fill it, lay apart. These bones appear to have suffered from fire, which may have been kindled on the pavement of flints serving as a base to the whole. The urn is seven inches high, five inches and a half wide at the top, and three inches and a half at the bottom.

A smaller urn was also found on the property of Mr. Gilbert, but in a tumulus not so large, and at some distance from the other."

Nov. 18, 1813. Thomas Clutterbuck, Esq. F. S. A. exhibited to the Society the original matrix of a Seal, which was found some time since near Baldock, in Hertfordshire.



The seal represents the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and the inscription is "GALFRIDI . VITA . VTINA . FIAT . ITA. Above are the letters POT and below R and L. namely, for *Potestas Religionis*. Royston Priory, which was situated at about eight miles distance from Baldock, was dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury; hence Mr. Clutterbuck conjectures, that the seal was a private seal of one of the Priors of that monastery, who bore the name of Galfridus.

A list of the names of the Priors belonging to this religious house would probably confirm the above conjecture, and would assist us in ascertaining the time when the seal was in use, but, after a diligent search, it does not appear that such a list is any where extant.

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